

VOLUME IV

PART I

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS
OF BURMA

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SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA CIRCLE

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS

Section II—The Mediaeval Môn Records

Nos. XIII—XVIII

BY

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EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS.

No. XIII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE AJAPĀLA PAGODA, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

84*. This record is engraved on two faces (presumably of the same stone), the parts occupied by the lettering here transcribed being on Face A 4 ft. in height by 3 ft. 9 in. in breadth and on Face B 3 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. The letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, letter *t* is about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, and the interlinear space is about 1 in. Though a good deal weathered, as are many of the other stone inscriptions of Lower Burma, this one is still for the most part legible.

85. Like the two following inscriptions, it is connected with a sacred building erected in commemoration of episodes in the life of Buddha shortly before or after his attainment of supreme enlightenment.

In this case the events are those which occurred under an Indian fig-tree (or banyan, *Ficus Indica*) known as the Ajapāla, or goatherds' fig-tree, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bodhi tree under which the supreme enlightenment was attained. Before going to sit under the Bodhi tree, the Bodhisattva rested under the Ajapāla fig-tree, where he received from the maiden Sujātā an offering of rice cooked in milk (A 1—22). The next seven weeks, beginning with the one during which he became a Buddha under the Bodhi tree, are especially celebrated. After his attainment of Buddhahood he spent another week gazing steadfastly at the Bodhi tree and satisfied the devas of his Buddhahood by performing a miracle; during the third week he walked up and down a "cloistered walk" which they prepared for him. These incidents are commemorated in the next record, No. XIV. The fourth week was spent in a "house of

* Numbering of the paragraphs in this part is continued from Part II of Volume III.

gems", also prepared by the devas and mentioned on Face A of the present record, l. 24, from which he then returned to the Ajapāla fig-tree to spend the fifth week (A 23-4). During this week he was visited by a Brahman, to whose question as to what really constituted a Brahman he replied by laying stress on ethical qualifications, not on caste and birth (A 25-6). Another event in this week was the recognition by the evil spirit Māra of his failure in his conflict with Buddha and the fruitless efforts of Māra's three daughters, the personifications of the passions, to tempt the enlightened one (A 26-35). The sixth week was spent under a Mucalinda tree (*Barringtonia acutangula*), where a Nāga king, also named Mucalinda, sheltered him from the rain with his hood; and the seventh under a Rājāyatana tree (believed to be *Buchananian latifolia*) where he was visited by two travelling merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, to whom he gave eight hairs from his head, which according to the traditions of Burma are now enshrined in the Shwedagon Pagoda at Rangoon. This episode, as well as much of the preceding, is related on Face A of No. XV, but unfortunately that part of the record is in a very damaged condition. After these seven celebrated weeks, Buddha returned again to the Ajapāla fig-tree and there reflected as to whether he should preach the Law, and, if so, to whom. This is related in our present record, and when he had decided the matter in his mind he left the Ajapāla fig-tree to go to the region of Benares (B 1—21).

86. The last four lines of our record tell of the building of the Ajapāla pagoda at Pegu in imitation of the one that had been erected long before on the site of the Ajapāla fig-tree. It is unfortunate that a good deal is missing in the text here. In the last line there is a date, but the year number is not quite certain. If the text as here printed represents the true reading of the year, the date fell into the summer of 1480 A.D. As however both the year and the week-day are in doubt, it is not possible to check it.

87. For the episodes in the life of Buddha that have been briefly noted in § 85, reference can be made to various translations from Buddhist works, among which the following have been consulted :—

T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Vol. I, London, 1880 (especially the revised edition by Mrs. Rhys Davids, London, n. d.) based on the *Nidānakathā*.

The Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, Oxford, 1881.

E. H. Brewster, The Life of Gotama the Buddha, London, 1926.

The Saṃyutta Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka, Book IV, Mārasaṃyuttam, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids in The Book of Kindred Sayings, London, 1917 (Part I, Sāgatha-Vagga, p. 153-9).

P. Bigandet, The Life or Legend of Gaudama, Vol. I, 3rd ed., London, 1880.

In my notes I have given mainly references from the last named work as it is particularly connected with Burma.

88. It should perhaps be mentioned here that at the Upakasamāga (or Bhikkhunīma) pagoda, Pegu, there is a fragmentary inscription of which lines 1 to 7 contain a much abridged version corresponding roughly to parts of lines 2, 3, 6—10, 20 and 21 of Face B of our record. A comparison of the two has been of some assistance in the reading of doubtful words in both.

Text.¹

A

1. II II Bodhisa[t pui]y lu[kau t]u[rau cnā]m pa dukka[rac]ariy[ā]
pḍa[y Uruweḷa tuy] II [het ma cwin br]apui[n³ m]a(j)jhimapaṭipat³
ma daḥ raḥ gah II dhar
2. pa[ñ]ā [sat]i [samādh]i ga[h j]no[k mar ā tuy] II [pḍay] prayāṃ
[batani] (14)⁴ [bra]mā[k kitu]⁵ ba[sāk gah go]’ nā[t s]wap [I]apo’
ja[m]nok

¹ Above the continuous text and separated from it by an empty space of two to three inches, there is a replica of ll. 1 and 2 of the text as far as the word *swap* (which in the replica is near the beginning of its third line). It has the variant reading *dukkaracariyā* (l. 1) and probably *katu* (l. 2). Much of it is illegible.

² Cf. I A 52, XII D 39, J 17, 18. In the last two places the reading should be *baḍḍin*.

³ The complex letter occurring here probably represents only *jh*, not *jñ*.

⁴ There is no room for the words, so it is assumed that the “fourteen” is expressed in numeral figures. As to the date, see the note on the text.

⁵ Possibly *katu*.

3. masun prakā [tuy II tr]adah [ma sgo' dah kyāk] (cmat)¹ [ga]h
ph[yuih lar cuit ra II pḍay tñay] sī [brapēn] (gah) [yah lañū]
ga[h kl]on lḥuit k[u] j[r]aku
4. [t]uy II prā[p ā] ja[reñ jray s]um² Aja[p]āla [tuy II] (tuy)
. . . . (weñ) . . . ³ [piṇḍapāt g]ah II (tuy II) [gata ket
bwai . . n]⁴ duih bramā[k dand]āy
5. [ke]t tnañ [j]ray tu[y] II [B]odhisa[t dmā]ñ [t]au ra [II pḍay
prayām gah II Sujātā t]u[y ma] c(u)i[n dah tau kwon] (samñeh)⁵
[Senāñi gah] khā [ma dah] samat lwuit [te]-
6. [' gah] II [ā pḍay t]nañ [jray sum] Ajapā[la tuy II khā ey ḍik
ma go' gayoñ tuy ma] no[m jāti] [II pḍay paṭisan-
dhi ey] ku[i]p [t]lā ga[h] II kwon [tr]uh
7. mwa[y II ey go' mā II braman ḍāk] ta[h heñ ey sbali] (tla) [ey
ñi gaḥ tuy II pa lar paṭṭhanā] (tuy) [II atuiñ paṭṭhanā
ḍeh ma pa gah] ḍok peñ uiw [t]uy II he-
8. [t] ma [sbal]i dewa[t]au [jray sum Ajapāla gah II] bra[m]an
[ḍāk tah gah ḍeh tw]āṃ phyu[i]n lar [ra II ḍik brau Puṇṇā
tuy mā] cu[in dah t]au [mbo]' ta[h ḍeh gah] II [ḍ]e[h] ca[kā
tu]-
9. y [k]u[iw tit ā] ñaḥ [t]aḥ da[māñ ma sbali dewa]tau [ra II khā
gah Puṇṇā tit ā tuy II] ñ[āt ket Bodhisat ma gata ket bwoy
duih⁶ bramāk] ma dan[ḍ]ā[y dmāñ tnañ jra]-
10. [y] s[u]m II nū [jraku lyah ma dre]p t[it ā gah] II [uit kuiw
janok] tnañ [chu ma] da[h s]ā[k thar uit gah ḍeh ñāt ket tūy
II na jraku heñ dewatau ma sdu]ñ [bali]

¹ Fairly probable reading.

² Or *sum*.

³ The preceding looks like *sgawēñ wñ* (or *wñw*). If the first word is meant for *sgawēñ* it would mean "wander", i.e., collecting alms.

⁴ Looks like *ban* or *pan*.

⁵ The reading is nearly certain.

⁶ Looks like *duiy*.

11. [bakar p]ui[y rw]o[n sdah II deh k]sap [tuy deh] cau [ā II
atui¹ tr]ada[h] de[h ma nāt gah deh huim ku Sujātā ra] II
kh[ā gah] Suja[ta sđik ml(u)ik mi]p cui[t pū]-
12. ma[h san t]u[y II th]aḥ th[or ma nwom] bnat [ñuh mwoy lak
kasāp gah II cut brapēñ braman² uit suim tuy II na thaḥ]
th[or m]wa[y] (rā) [c-āñ grop braman² gah t]uy na
13. [yā]t ma g[wu c-]aḥ gah [gwī tuy II na kriyā thar uit suim gah
gñi gñāt ket t]u[y II thaḥ thor suim braman gah II kđip gah
yuiw ke]t [t]u[y II na a]n[u]bho[w ma j]n[o]-
14. [k] tlaḥ ga[h] II [k]w[om k]u [đik brau Puṇṇā gah tit ā ra II
khā gah nū jamṇay heñ na ly]aḥ [jrak]ū Bodhisat ma krajo'
[dmāñ tau gah II] u[it k]u[i]³ jan[ok tnañ chu ma dah sā]-
15. [k] thor gah [deh ñ]ā[t ket t]u[y II samtim dewatau jray sum
heñ lar] c[uit tuy II suim kuiw ma kuiw braman⁴ heñ jo' jo']
[ā t]u[y II [thaḥ] tho[r ma cut]
16. p[r]aman gah phy[uih n]u latū [kđip tu]y [II yāt kambu ma gwī]
p[raman gah sah kle' tuy II thaḥ thor ma grop gah pok k]l[e'
tuy II na pađāk [thor] [r]
17. la[r] na đāk mramar gah deh] ra[p ket t]uy II [prāp] ā [jareñ
Bodhisat tuy deh dmāñ tau II pđay kāla gah II prabeñ
Ghaṭikāra Mahābruim ma kuiw] (d).
18. (n) . [n⁵ ā] ra II B[odhisat] (ha) [ñāt] pra[beñ gah t]uy II [tay
stum gah r]a(laḥ) [tuy d]uñ [k]e[t đ]ā[k ra II khā gah Su]j[ātā
prāp ā tuy II thaḥ thor tuy] (ma pe)-
19. (ñ t)au na prama[n] đ[āk tah g]ah II draḇu[t c]u[t] la[tū gata
tay Bo]risat⁶ ra II [kh]ā ga[h rau wo' deh] (gaḥ II yo') [tila]
ey dewa[tau paṭṭhanā tuy ma ey rāda]-

¹ Looks like *atuiw*.² Perhaps *praman*.³ For *kuiw*.⁴ Perhaps *praman*.⁵ Possibly *danan* or *dandan*. Cf. VIII A 3.⁶ For *Bodhisat*.

20. [nā mik tam] j[on̄ tīla ey gah II ɔk peñ ku ey tuy] ra [II] rau
pa[t̚than]ā cui[t̚] ey ɔi[k ma] ɔ[ok peñ] (gah) [heñ II paṭṭhan]ā
cui[t̚ tīla ey ler kuiw ɔk]
21. [peñ nī gah tuy II thaḥ thor t̚uy] [ma nwom n̄]uh [mway lak]
ka[s]ā[p gah] . . [k ku br] . . (y) [t̚u[y II Sujatā twāk c]au [ā
ra II khā gah Bodhisat twāk cui]-
22. [h ā] pḍay [cran̄ kru]ñ Nerañjarā tu[y II pḍay cni]h Su[patit̚tha
gah pa pa]r[ibho]k [praman gah ra] II II pḍa[y] thān ja[r]e[n̄
bodhi gah II lukau ḃa coh d]ac[ām t̚na]-
23. [y pan saṭṭāha gah II k]yā[k] t[r̚ay dm̄]ñ [t̚u[y heñ II p[ḍay
t̚nay] ca[h] pi [bramāk k]i[t̚]u [j̄ih] gah [II y]aḥ [l]aṇ[ū h]e[n̄
ky]ā[k tray daloh¹ ktuiw ā] II
24. [nū ratan]aghara [tuy II ā dm̄ñ tau] (a)sma[r tnam̄] [jray
s]uñ[m] Aja[pāla tuy] lu[k]au da[pah t̚nay] ga[h II biç]ā[raṇ]ā
ket [dhar c]as[uiñ ket] dra[sok phalasamāpat]
25. [tuy] k[yāk tr̚ay d[mañ]² tau [II] II [pḍay kāla gah] ba[mnaḥ
m]wa[y ma himu] (Huñhukajātī³ gah) [prāp] tluṛ [smā]n
sram[ān ku ky]āk [tr̚ay [t̚u[y II kyāk tray le]-
26. [r sah kui]w [sramā]n [ku ɔeh ra] II [II] p[ḍ]ai [k]ā[l]a k[yak⁴
tray ma dm̄ñ pḍai phār Ajap]ā[lā] ga[h kuim] II s[miñ Mā]
pr[āp ā t̚l]u[n̄-jareñ⁵ ky]āk [tray t̚u[y] (II)⁶ tuy ma
ui]-
27. [t̚] cu[it ma phy]u[i]h sa[nniṭhān] tradah k[yāk tray ma] dah
ky[āk cmat II tradah p]u[gg]u[i]w [ma c-aḥ cmat gah ɔeh]
h[uim tuy II ɔeh] b[uiw ā nor jray Ajapāla II bwoy duih]

¹ For *dalok*?² For *dm̄ñ*.³ For *Huñhukajātī*.⁴ For *kyāk*.⁵ The ñ of *ñuñ* appears to be superscript over the *j* of *jareñ*.⁶ The missing word looks something like *lahuim*, "speech", but it seems difficult to fit this sense into the passage.

28. b[ramāk] (gah) [twāk ā tuy II pday dor t]arau [jnok deh kajo'¹
tuy II carit cah tar]au ga[h] de[h] cari[t ket tuy deh dawin]
(den) [dman² tau II kh]ā [gah]
29. [tradok cuit deh that lwon san tuy II tan tuy ma deh] [d]
. . . [lor] p[d]ai kana(t)³ [de]h [k]u[im ler l]a(luy) [c(u)it
kuim] (deh) [ha tim ra II khā]
30. [Mā ma laluy cuit gah II smiñ] I[n go'] [lapah ket tuy II smiñ
In (h)uim ku Pañcasī]kha [iñah gañ II khā gah kw(ā)n br]au
Mā [pi tuy ma himu] (II) [Taṇhā II A]ra[tī]
31. [II Rāgā II gah nāt ket s]m[iñ mba deh tuy ma den] d[m]ā[n
tau gah II cuih tluñ]⁴ [ku m]ba d[e]h [t]u[y
II prāp] ā [jareñ kyāk tray] . . . (ra) [II] rup
32. [brau samat lwut p]i [klañ mwai wā] II [r]up brau lwut ma ha
go'] [kwān pi klañ mwoy wā II rup brau ma go' kwā]n mwa[y
pi klañ m]w[oy w]ā [II rup] b[rau ma go' kwān ḥa pi klañ
mwo]y
33. [wā II rup brau ma dah taḍay nāḥ pi klañ mwoy wā II rup
brau ma jnok nī pi klañ mw]oy [wā II rau wo' turau he]ñ
[b]rau pi pi [klañ deh to'] (nimit bdah)⁵ [tuy II deh]
34. [to' prāp ā jare(ñ-)kyāk⁶ tray] (tuy deh to')⁷ hui[m juim] (tau)
[ku kyāk tray deh to' ha go' akhwoñ deh to' tuy] (deh to')
[kaleñ cau]
35. [jareñ mba deh to' ra II II]

¹ Between *kajo'* and *tuy* there is either an original flaw in the stone or some small word (such as *bat*) has been effaced.

² For *dman*.

³ Conceivably *kanak*.

⁴ There are two words here that have not been identified. Each seems to begin and end with *or t*.

⁵ These two words seem almost certain readings, though the second one might be *bat*.

⁶ It is very doubtful whether there is any superscript *ñ* here at all.

⁷ Conjectural restoration.

B

1. [II II] kh[ā] ti[l]a p[uiy kyāk tray] [chu
Rājāyatana dapah tñay t]u[y gah II tit tluñ no(r-)Rājāyatana
tuy kalēñ]
2. p[l]an [ā] pḍay thān jray su(m)m Ajapāla II] (casuñ ket)¹ [phala-
samāpati kyāk tray dmāñ² tau ra II pḍay kāla tuy ma dmāñ
pḍay thān gah]
3. [g]asa[p cuit] mwam³ ma cāñ that ktuiw dah ku kyāk tray ra II
dh[ar tuy ma ey kuli go' grañ ke]t⁴ (wo')⁴ [gah II sjoh ler sjoh
san II II]
4. s[j(u)in na ñaḥ s]ñā[t san] II s[j]ui[n na ñaḥ s]gra[n ket san II]
(ñiy tḍim)⁵ [san II at]u[i]ñ dhar ma [ey go' grañ ket] (wo')⁴ [ey
ma twah ku ñaḥ c-āñ] II [ñāḥ ha grañ] t[i]-
5. [m] ra sdah [m]ā II [lam-]oñ la[m]-a[t] j[r]a[k]u [ey heñ ma sdah
uiw so'] II atu[i]ñ [dh]ar ma [ey go'] gra[n ket wo' gah] II [ey
(h)en]⁶ spa ke[w srajuin t]aḍui-
6. [ñ II s-a]y [puray spujau sakā t]uy II [sdmāñ ket ra II ku ñaḥ
c-ā]ñ [ta ey ha mik tw]ah ra gaḥ tuy II [c]u[it mw]ay [m]way
t[uy] ma spa (an' kabut) [pḍay ma stwah] dhar [ku]
7. ña[h gah] k[tu]iw [dah] ku kyāk tra[y ra II kh]ā ga(sah)⁸
[Sahampati Mahā]brui[m tim ke]t [gasap] cui[t kyāk tram⁹ t]uy
II grakwom bruim grakwom dewa[t]au ma

¹ The reading is not quite certain, but cf. A 24.

² Between *dmā* and *ñ* there is an original flaw which also separates *e* from *k t* in the next line.

³ For *mway*.

⁴ In II. 3, 4, it is possible to read *te'* instead of *wo'* but in I. 5 the reading *wo'* is certain.

⁵ Though the letters seem fairly clear the actual reading is doubtful because the words have not been definitely identified.

⁶ The word *heñ* might perhaps be read *theñ*.

⁷ It might be possible to read *ara*.

⁸ Presumably for *gah*, and translated accordingly.

⁹ Presumably for *tray*.

8. [t]au tau p[ḍay cah liim] cak[k]awā [gah trawī] ba[wuiñ ket tuy II pā]p¹ ā ja[reñ kyāk] tray ra [II] khā ga[h k]bāñ mway duih pan[ḍah ti] yok ket samini² ta-
9. [y] li[nō]r [kyāk] tram¹ tu[y II het tuy ma] (sgo')³ [kuiw twah dhaw ku sat gamlui]ñ ga[h II] āt⁴ wuiw ku k[y]āk tray ra II [ky]āk tra[y t]un ler
10. [k]uiw wui[w ku S]ahampa[ti Mahābruim tuy heñ II]
 . . [tñā]y ga[h II pḍay thān tr]awī w[ū] Ma[hā]bodh[i g]ah guim⁵ II kyāk tray gañge[n p]i[n]ḍa[p]ā[t]
11. tuy II d[māñ t]au pḍa[y th]ā[n gah] ra II [pḍay payām sagā] (tñay) [cah pan bram]āk [kitu a(sā)t gah II gasap rau wok]⁶ k[t]ui[w] dah ku [k]yāk tray ra II isi Ā[ī]āra
12. [K]ālā[ma] gah II [ma salāḥ ta]ḥaḥ [k]u[iw dhaw] (lo)
 [samāpat⁷ dapāḥ] (ku ey dah)⁸ u[iw] da ci II [upak]ā jnok [ku ey san II ku i]si Ā[ī]āra Kālā-
13. [ma] heñ [ey ma g]ap gw[or stwah dh]ar [twā⁹ ra rau gah] (kṣap tuy) [II khā gah] (tradah isi)¹⁰ [Ā]āra¹¹ p[ḍay dapah tñay ma lwon t]u[y ma khy(u)it ā II] ma ā
14. k[t]uiw dah] p[ḍay aki]cca[nāyatan]abhu[m¹² gah tim] (ket) [tuy II isi] Ā[ī]āra (Kālāma) [ha mway ra ci II isi] U[d]akā kwon [Rām] tu[n ler II het tuy ma]

¹ For *prāp*.² For *samip*.³ This seems the most likely reading. At first I was inclined to read *p-or ma*.⁴ There is no *virāma* visible on the *t*.⁵ For *kuiñ*.⁶ For *wo*'.⁷ This looks like *lokiyasamāpat*, which seems improbable as *lokkutarasamāpat* would be more ble.⁸ Restored, but supported to some extent by traces of letters.⁹ I take this to be an error for *lla*.¹⁰ Almost certain.¹¹ Possibly *wo*'.¹² For *ākiñcaññā*^o, in Pali spelling.

15. [ḍeh salah ṭaḥḥ kuiw dhar] newa[sañānāsañāyatanasamāpat dah ui¹ da ci II] (jnok tau) [upakā] ku [ey]² [ku isi Udaka heñ ey ma ga]-
16. [p gwor stwah dhar tlā³ ra gaḥ tuy II gasap cuit kyāk tray ktuiw dah tun II] (khā gaḥ) [tradah isi] Udaka ma khyuit [traḍay] ba[tañ gaḥ ma ā ktuiw] (dah)
17. [pḍay newasañānāsañāyatana]bhum [gaḥ] (tim) [ket tuy II isi] (Udaka ha) [mway ra ci II tipuin paccawar⁴ to'] ma klo[n ḥ]ui[t] . . [ku ey] (khā)
18. [ma pa dukkaracāriyāt gaḥ l]er II [u]pakā jnok ku ey sa[n da[h] ui[w da ci II ku tipuin paccaw]ar [to' heñ] ey ma [gap gw]or s[ṭwah dhar tlā⁵ rwo]-
19. [ñ] [' ci II] tipui[n paccawor] (to' tau)⁶ [pḍay thān tuy ḍeh] to'⁷ [ma] dmāg⁸ ro [g]aḥ tu[y II kyāk tray kṣap bicāraṇā] (mwa)-
20. (y tuy)⁹ [II tradah tila puin paccawor to'] (ma pa datau)¹⁰ [pḍay ḍuñ Bārāṇasī pḍay gr[ip Isipa[t]ana ga[h tim ket] tuy [II ey s-ā] (ḍuñ Bārā)-
21. (ṇasī ñi) [g]aḥ [tuy] II [pḍay [tṇay sī] brape[n kitu asāt gaḥ heñ II kyāk tray tit] ā [nor] (smār¹¹ tnañ) [jray su(rn)m] Aja[p]ā[la ra II] (II)
22. [jray sum A]japā[la tuy] ma cui[n dah tau] (thān) [paribhok kyāk tray gaḥ smin ma nwom ku puin tamlā] (ma sjuñ) [sḍuik pḍay sāsanā] (ma pa) [tañ ku]

¹ For *uiw*.

² Looks like *kuit* and is perhaps for *kuiw*.

³ Or *hla*.

⁴ For *pañcawar* (Sanskrit *pañcavargya*). The Pali form is *pañcavaggiya*.

⁵ Or *hla*.

⁶ Very doubtful, especially the second word, which might perhaps be read *mu ran*.

⁷ For *to'*. It is, however, conceivable that the letter read *ma* is really the final which would turn *to* into *to'*.

⁸ For *dmāñ*.

⁹ Cf. VIII A 11.

¹⁰ This seems to be the actual reading; but the Upakasamāga inscription, l. 6, has *ma tau tau*, and the context is not quite identical.

¹¹ This supposed reading would be an error for *smar*; but both words are doubtful.

23. (smin) [Asokadhammarāt ta gah II dak lo]r [cetī mway Japālaceti-
(ya)¹ tuy ma tluñ tau pujau sakā II II pḍay thān puiy Rāma-
ñadesa]
24. [l(e)r II ptup] (ca)² [kuiw Ajapālace³ te'⁴ gaḥ tuy atuiñ
duih tlañ] (ca) (thān) [te' heñ II tila ñaḥ tila ciñ
batāñ]
25. ma [himu Mahārāja] (tuai)⁵ [II pḍai sakkarāt
84(2) kitu asāt masun crawek] (thay) [lak min] (gah)
[II] (ma kuiw kanam lor)⁶ [Ajapālaceti] (wo')

Translation.

A.

Our Bodhisattva, having for six years practised asceticism in Uruveḷa,⁷ cause of⁸ following the proper middle way, the principles of (2) wisdom, action and meditation had grown great (in him). In the night of the (th ?)⁹ of the waxing (half) of the month of Vaiśākha he beheld five (3) dreams and made up his mind that he was to achieve (true ?) Buddhahood. On the full moon festival day, early in the morning, after turning to himself,¹⁰ (4) he approached the Ajapāla fig-tree (and having ?) alms,¹¹ (having ?), facing towards . . . the eastern quarter (and) resting (5) under the fig-tree, our Bodhisattva remained (there).

At that time Sujātā, who was the daughter of the (rich man ?) Senāni,¹² while she was still a maiden, (6) having gone to the Ajapāla fig-tree, had

¹ For *Ajapāla*°.

² Doubtful.

³ For *Ajapālaceti*.

⁴ This might be *wo'*.

⁵ Very doubtful.

⁶ Mostly a conjectural restoration, but the traces of letters still legible make it probable.

⁷ Cf. Bigandet, I 72-6. Uruveḷa was a forest country.

⁸ The original seems ambiguous: either "in order to follow" or "because he followed" (in the latter case giving the reason why he attained the higher faculties mentioned immediately afterwards). But for the first sense one would expect *scwin* (cf. II. 7, 8 *infra*).

⁹ This, though illegible, must be the right reading. Cf. Bigandet, I 79-81.

¹⁰ Or "to his person." Bigandet, I 81, has "washed his hands and face, put on his dress."

¹¹ See the note on the text.

¹² This was the name both of Sujātā's father and of the village where they lived (Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 184). But Bigandet, I 77, has it, spelt in the Burmese fashion, under the form "Thena."

said, "When I have got a husband of (suitable ?) family, (and if) in my first confinement I get (7) a male child, I will offer rice cooked in milk¹ to my (lord ?)," (thus she) prayed The prayer² she had made having been fulfilled, in order (8) to make an offering to the deva of the Ajapāla fig-tree, she boiled milk rice (and) sent Puṇṇā,³ a female slave whom she employed, who had been her foster-mother, (9) to go out and clear the place (where she) was to make the offering to the deva. Then Puṇṇā, having gone out, saw the Bhodhisattva, who was facing towards the eastern quarter and resting under the fig-(10)tree. She saw that a radiance was issuing from his body and that the whole mass of the tree was of a golden colour. "Surely the deva in his own person is going to accept our (11) offering, it seems," she reflected, and returned home; and, in accordance with what she had seen, she spoke to Sujātā.

Then Sujātā was very glad and happy (in her) heart. (12) She filled a golden dish of the value of ten thousand *kaśāp*⁴ quite full with the rice milk, covered the rice milk with another golden dish and (13) wrapped them in a clean white cloth, decked herself with all her golden ornaments,⁵ and carrying on her head the golden dishes with the rice milk, in great splendour (14) of beauty, she went out together with the female slave Puṇṇā. Then from afar, with the radiance of the body of the Bodhisattva who was sitting (there), she saw the whole mass of the tree was of (15) a golden colour and thinking (that she) was beholding the deva of the fig-tree, she went, bowing low, to give (him) the rice milk. The golden dish wherein she had put (16) the rice milk she took down from her head, unwrapped the white cloth wherewith (she had) wrapped the (dish of) rice milk, took off the golden dish which covered (it), (and) from⁶ a golden water vessel (17) with scented water she approached the presence of the Bodhisattva and (there) she remained.

¹ This is in accordance with Buddhist Birth Stories, I.c., and Bigandet, I 79, 80, though in neither case are we told exactly how the rice came in.

² Literally "in accordance with the prayer."

³ Bigandet, I 80, calls her "Sounama".

⁴ Sanskrit *kāśāpaṇa*, Pali *kaśāpaṇa*, a small coin of varying value, according as it is of gold, silver or copper, but apparently usually the latter. Bigandet (I 82) has "100,000 pieces of silver."

⁵ Bigandet, I.c., has "she forthwith put on her finest dress."

⁶ Or "with." Owing to the lacuna in this line it is not clear how the words *rap ket* in the next one should be translated; they may mean "hold" or "use". Bigandet, I.c., has "offered him in a gold basin scented water to wash his hands."

At that moment the almsbowl, that the Mahābrahma Ghaṭikāra¹ had presented, (18) (disappeared ?)² and the Bodhisattva, not seeing the almsbowl, (stretched out his ?)³ right hand and took the water. Then Sujātā approached and set the golden dish that was (full ?) (19) of rice milk on the palm of the Bodhisattva's hand. Then she spake thus : "O my lord deva, the prayer that I prayed (20) at my lord's feet has been fulfilled for me ; as the prayer of my heart was fulfilled, so also may the prayer of my lord's heart be (21) fulfilled !," (she) said ; and, having (offered ?)³ the golden dish which was of the value of ten thousand *kaśāp*, Sujātā walked home.

Then the Bodhisattva walked down (22) to the bank of the river Nerañjarā and at the bathing place (named) Supatitṭha he partook of the rice milk. On the ground in front of the Bodhi (tree) for twenty-eight days, (23) four weeks, the exalted Buddha remained ; and on the thirteenth day of the waxing (half) of the month of Jyestha, early in the morning the exalted Buddha went away (24) from the house of gems⁴ and went to stay under the Ajapāla fig-tree ; for seven days, meditating on the Law and enjoying the bliss of the attainment of fruition,⁵ (25) the exalted Buddha remained (there). At that time a Brahman named Huhunkajātī approached (and) asked a question of the exalted Buddha ; and the exalted Buddha (26) gave him the answer to his question.⁶

Also during the time that the exalted Buddha was staying by the side of the Ajapāla (tree),⁷ King Māra approached the presence of the exalted Buddha, and (being at) his wits' (27) end, he concluded that

¹ The name means "potter". According to Bigandet, *l.c.*, the almsbowl that disappeared was of earthenware.

² I follow Bigandet in regard to these two words, but the second one is supported to some extent by the text.

³ Bigandet, *l.c.*, has "making then the offering of the gold cup, worth 100,000 pieces of silver, with the same disinterestedness as if she had given over only the dry leaf of a tree, she withdrew and returned to her home with a heart overflowing with joy."

⁴ This was the fourth of the seven weeks that began when the Bodhisattva took his seat under the Bodhi tree. Cf. Bigandet, I 100.

⁵ That is, of the attainment of the several kinds of spiritual insight that a Buddha has. Cf. Bigandet, I 102.

⁶ In Bigandet (I 104-6) this incident is mentioned after the appearance of Māra and his daughters and the Brahman is called Mingalika. The Mahāvagga of the Vinayapiṭaka (I 2) has *huhunkajātī*, interpreted as "of a haughty disposition", not as the man's name ; Buddhaghosa adds that he was *diṭṭhamāgalika* (F. Max Müller, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIII, p. 79).

⁷ With the remainder of Face A of this inscription Bigandet I 102-4 can be compared.

the exalted Buddha was a true Buddha, "a pure, true man", he said. He looked away from the Ajapāla fig-tree (and) having walked towards (28) the eastern quarter, sat down in the middle of the high road, (where) he drew sixteen lines (and then) remained anxious and dazed. At that time (29) his distress of mind was very great, (having remained ?)¹, in (the end ?)¹ he lost consciousness, he knew no more. When (30) Māra had lost consciousness, King Indra lifted him up and King Indra informed Pañcasīkha of this.²

At that moment the three daughters of Māra, named Taṇhā, Aratī and (31) Rāgā, seeing their royal father was in a dazed state, came down (and), having³ to their father, approached the presence of the exalted Buddha Forms of (32) young maidens, three hundred at one time, forms of girls that had not borne a child, three hundred at one time, forms of women who had borne one child, three hundred at one time, forms of women who had borne two children, three hundred at one (33) time, forms of women of middling age, three hundred at one time, (and) forms of somewhat older⁴ women, three hundred at one time, in these six ways, (as) three hundred women at a time, did they create,⁵ and, (34) approaching the presence of the exalted Buddha, addressed the exalted Buddha. (But) they had no chance (of success) and (35) they returned to their father.

B

After our lord the exalted Buddha (had remained under ?)⁶ the Rājāyatana tree for seven days,⁷ (he) came away from the Rājāyatana tree and returned (2) again to the place of the Ajapāla fig tree, (where) the exalted Buddha remained (enjoying ?)⁶ the fruition of attainment.⁸ During the time when he was staying at that place (3) a very anxious thought

¹ There is some doubt as to the meaning here owing to the lacuna and the reading *kanat* is not quite certain.

² Presumably this is what is meant, though the reading is not quite certain. Pañcasīkha was a deva.

³ Some expression like "given help" (or "comfort") would be appropriate here. The two illegible words in the text have not been identified.

⁴ Literally, "big" or "bigger".

⁵ The translation assumes that in the reading of the text, which is doubtful, *nimit* is used as a verb, in the sense of "to form, to create" and *bdah* means the same thing. If instead of *bdah* we read *bat* "likeness", there is no substantial difference in the sense but the construction seems rather strained.

⁶ Conjecturally restored.

⁷ This was the seventh of the seven great weeks. Cf. A 24 *supra*, and Bigandet, I 107.

⁸ Cf. A 24 *supra*, and Bigandet, I 111-5, for what follows, down to B 21 *infra*.

occurred to the exalted Buddha: "This Law, which I have succeeded in getting to understand is deep, very deep, (4) very hard for men to perceive, very hard for men to understand, very¹ If I preach to other people in accordance with this Law which I have succeeded in understanding they will not understand (it) (5) and I myself² shall surely be tired out. In accordance with this Law which I have succeeded in understanding, I will³ (6) worship (and) make offerings and I will continually keep (it). To other people I do not want to preach (it)," (he) said. (Thus), one by one, thoughts, of how to exert himself but little⁴ in preaching the Law to (7) others, occurred to the exalted Buddha.

Then the Mahābrahma Sahampati, having become aware of the thoughts of the exalted Buddha, assembled a retinue of the company of Brahmas and the company of devas who (8) dwell in a hundred thousand universes and approached the presence of the exalted Buddha. Then, bending one knee to the ground and lifting up his joined hands, (9) (he) revered the exalted Buddha and asked as a boon from the exalted Buddha that he would preach the Law to all beings.⁵ The exalted Buddha, on his part, (10) granted the boon to the Mahābrahma Sahampati. that day,⁶ on the land around the Mahābodhi tree the exalted Buddha wandered for alms, (11) and then remained on that land.

At the hour of midnight, (on) the fourteenth of the waxing (half) of the month of Āṣāḍha, this thought occurred to the exalted Buddha: "Inasmuch as the hermit Ālāra (12) Kālāma, who taught (and) expounded (to me?) the law of the seven stages of attainment,⁷ was of very great service to me, to the hermit Ālāra Kālāma (13) it is fitting that I should preach the Law first," thus he (resolved?). Then, having become aware of the fact that the hermit Ālāra had died seven

¹ Reading doubtful and meaning undetermined.

² Or "my body".

³ The meaning of the rest of the line is doubtful. As it stands it might be "make clear (and) delight (in)" or "set my heart on", but this leaves *taṇhā*, which has not been identified, untranslated. Perhaps we should read *pa keṇ* "practise". Cf. I D 19. If we read *theṇ* (instead of *heṇ*) the meaning would be "I think I will", etc., but this seems less probable.

⁴ The reading not being quite certain, there is some doubt as to the meaning.

⁵ The literal sense appears to be "in order that he might get (him) to preach the Law to all sentient beings (the Mahābrahma Sahampati) asked the exalted Buddha for a boon", i.e. he asked the favour, that Buddha would preach the Law.

⁶ Owing to the lacuna it is not clear whether it should be "day" or "days".

⁷ That is the first seven of the ecstatic states enumerated under the head of *samāpā*.

days before and gone (14) into existence in the region of "nothingness",¹ (he said), "Inasmuch as the hermit Ālāra Kālāma is no more, (and) seeing that the hermit Udaka, son of Rāma, (15) taught (and) expounded the law of the attainment of "neither consciousness nor unconsciousness"² (and) was of (great) service to me, . . . to the hermit Udaka it is fitting (16) that I should preach the Law first." (Thus) saying, (this) resolve of the exalted Buddha arose (in his mind). (Then ?) having become aware of the fact that the hermit Udaka had died in the middle of that night and gone into existence (17) in the region of "neither consciousness nor unconsciousness,"³ (he said), "Inasmuch as the hermit Udaka is no more, and the five monks, who ministered . . . to me (when ?) (18) (I was) practising asceticism, were of very great service to me, to (these) five monks it is fitting that I should preach the Law first." (19) "In what place do the five monks dwell ?" (he) said ; and the exalted Buddha reflected . . (20) Having become aware of the fact that the five monks had made their dwelling-place in the country of Benares in the forest of Isipatana, "I will go (to the country of Benares ?)," (21) (he) said ; and on the festival day of the full moon of Āṣāḍha, the exalted Buddha went away from (beneath ?) the Ajapāla fig-tree

(The place of ?) (22) the Ajapāla fig-tree having been a place of sustenance of⁴ the exalted Buddha, the kings of old who were possessed of piety, who took delight in the religion, beginning with (23) King Asokadhammarāja, having built a caitya, the Ajapālacaitya, came (there and) worshipped (and) made offerings. In our country of Rāmaññadesa (24) . . . (also ?), saying "Imitate yonder Ajapālacaitya," in accordance with the orientation of (the) sides (of) that (place ?), His Majesty, the Lord of the White Elephant⁵ (25) who was named Mahārāja , in the year 842⁶ of the Common Era, the fifth of the waning (half) of the month Āṣāḍha, (a . . . day ?), Pisces being *lagna*,⁷ (built ?)⁸ this Ajapālacaitya

¹ The third of the Arūpabrahmaloka regions. This assumes an emendation of the reading in the text, *q.v.*

² The eighth stage of *samāpatti*.

³ The fourth of the Arūpabrahmaloka regions.

⁴ Or simply, "a place used by".

⁵ It seems as if some expression like "gave orders to" were needed here. Cf. XIV 12.

⁶ The last numeral is not quite certain, nor is the week-day.

⁷ That is, tangential to the eastern horizon.

⁸ Very doubtful, see the note on the text.

No. XIV.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEGUGYI PAGODA, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

89. This is a mere fragment containing only the last 13 lines of a record, and most of them in an imperfect condition. It measures 1 ft. 8 in. in height by 2 ft. in breadth. The letters and the interlinear space are of the same dimensions as in No. XIII.

90. So far as it is preserved, this record is concerned with the events which happened in the second and third of the seven weeks that began when Buddha took his seat under the Bodhi tree. For these, reference may be made to the account contained in Bigandet, I, pp. 99-100. Put shortly, after leaving his majestic seat under the tree of enlightenment, Buddha stood gazing at it steadfastly without winking an eye, and in deep meditation, which caused the devas to think that he regretted having left it and that he had not yet attained Buddhahood.¹ At the end of those seven days, in order to remove their doubts, he raised himself miraculously into the air and performed miracles which convinced them that he was really a Buddha (cf. ll. 1-6 of the inscription). Having come down to earth again he proceeded to spend the following week, the third of the great seven weeks, still in deep meditation, walking up and down the "cloistered walk" or ambulatory which the devas had prepared for him, and it is especially this that the inscription is intended to commemorate (cf. ll. 8-13).

Text.

1. (kyāk tray) [gah II lukau dapah tñai] (nda)²
[mat ma ha go']
2. [laḥay] (gah)³ [II het]
. [ñ] [kyāk]

¹ The *Nidānakathā* has a slightly different version, viz. that the doubts in the minds of the devas arose while Buddha was still under the Bodhi tree, from which they inferred that "there must be something more Siddhattha has to do, for he still lingers seated there." (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, new and revised edition, p. 200). Presumably this is an older version than the one in our record and in Bigandet.

² This is shaped as if it were *nda* (as also in XII C 49, D 28, 36, 38, 47, 50) and should perhaps be so transliterated. I think, however, that it is identical with the modern particle *da* (pronounced *fe*) though it may be merely a damaged *ra* here. The subscript *d* in (sa)*ndeh*, ll. 3, 4, is also of much the same shape.

³ The reading is doubtful. The initial letter, which is blurred, looks like a *dh*.

3. (tray)¹ (sa)nd[e]h
de[w]atau gam[l]uiñ t[o'] [ktuiw dah]
4. (sa)nd(e)h
[de]wa[tau to' gah]
5. tu(y) II ta[b]ah
kuiw pāt[ihā kuiw] (dewa)tau ga-
6. (mluiñ)² [' tuy]
II kyāk [tray cuih] tl[u]ñ
7. [ñka] (ra kuim) [ma
datau g]ah II [bramāk] ā paluit[t II no(r)]
8. [p]aluit [ā] bramā[k] II [lukau d]a[p]ah tñai [kyāk] tray
ca[n]kram [t]au ra II pḍa[y thān cañkram]
9. ga[h] smin tamlā [m]a sadhā ma pa tam ku smin
A[s]oka[dhammarāt] ga[h] II cañkram k]wom
10. [ku] c[e]tī bā [r]a-i[t] cañkram gah II [k]u[iw] kanañ lam³ cuiw
ku lamah nw[ā]m tau II p[ḍ]ay thān puiy
11. [Rāmañ]ad[e]sa wo' [g]ah II [ptu]p ca [ku th]ān [te'] tuy II [tui]ñ
duih [t]lañ [b]na[t] p[r]aḥat
12. (') . . . [ñ]⁴ II [tila ñah tila c]in [bat]ā[n II p-āw]
k[w]on [truh] m[way ma h]im[u Ba]-
13. (ñā)⁵ [II ma k(a)ndam]⁶ (law) [cetī bā kwam ku
ratanacañkram wo' II II]

¹ Conjecturally restored.

² Conjecturally restored. It may have been *gah*, not *gamluiñ*.

³ This can also be transliterated *lā*, a modern spelling for *la'* (pronounced *lo'*), which occurs in our records as *lo'*, with the sense of "a long time". I can make nothing of either *lam* or *lā* and suspect that *law* was intended, as in I, 13 where it is the probable reading.

⁴ One may conjecture *thān te' heñ* (cf. XIII B 24).

⁵ The reading is doubtful. If correct, it means "prince".

⁶ The *d* is written as *ḍ*. The vowel of the first syllable may possibly be *i*.

Translation.

..... the exalted Buddha, during the seven days (when he) could¹ not (2) . . . blink (with) his eyes ; because the exalted (3) Buddha doubts arose in the minds of the devas (4) the doubts of the devas (5) and the exalted Buddha showed forth miracles to the devas, (6) and the exalted Buddha came down (7)² (from) the east going to the west, from (8) the west going to the east, during seven days the exalted Buddha kept walking to and fro.³

In the place where he had walked (9) the kings of old who had faith, beginning with Asokadhammarāja, caused to be built an ambulatory together (10) with two caityas at the ends of the ambulatory ; (they) stand even until now.

In this our country (11) of Rāmaññadesa, in imitation of that place, in accordance with the orientation of the sides and the dimensions (12) (of that place ?), His Majesty the Lord of the White Elephant, ordered a son (of his) who was named (Bañā ?) (13) to erect two caityas together with this precious ambulatory.

¹ This is the literal rendering but the sense is "did".

² In the absence of a context it is not possible to make sure of the sense of *ma datau gah*. It may mean "where (he) was". If we may conjecture that *ika* is a remnant of *bodhipallaṅka*, the seat under the Bodhi tree (as the superscript *ī* in l. 2 may also be), the words could mean "where (he) had stayed." The ambulatory ran from the Bodhi seat to the place where he had stood gazing at it (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, new and revised edition, p. 201.)

³ With the first part of this inscription compare XV 5-9.

No. XV.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEDAGON PAGODA, RANGOON.

Descriptive Account.

91. This inscription is engraved on two faces of a stone slab. On the obverse one (Face A) the space originally occupied by lettering appears to have been 5 ft. 3 in. (or more) in height by 4 ft. in breadth. On the reverse (Face B) it is 5 ft. 8 in. by 4 ft. The letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, letter *t* is about $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long and the interlinear space is about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. but becomes less in the lower part of the obverse. This face must have contained at least 56 lines, but it is in such a bad state that no consecutive transcript or translation can be made of it as it stands. Enough of it has been preserved to make it plain that, after a reference to his meeting the early Buddha Dīpaṅkara in a former life, it deals briefly with the events in Gautama Buddha's career during the momentous seven weeks and especially, at greater length, with the story of the brothers Tapussa and Bhallika and their meeting with him, mentioned in § 85. The reverse, though a good deal weathered and otherwise damaged, especially in the first twelve lines, is in a much better condition. But there also there are many gaps, which interrupt the continuity of the narrative and obscure its meaning.

92. After repeated and intermittent study, spread over a number of years, it appeared to me that I had done all that I could do in the way of deciphering and interpreting this record. But in October 1932 Professor Pe Maung Tin was good enough to send me an extract, with translation, of a Pali text entitled *Nalāṭadhātuvamsa*, which at that moment I could not deal with as my time was fully taken up with other duties. In the following summer he drew my attention to further evidence capable of throwing light on the Môn Shwedagon inscription and eventually sent a duplicate copy of the Pali extract and translation, a translation of the long Burmese inscription of the same pagoda, and also his own transcript and translation of the Môn inscription. The Burmese record runs on much the same lines as the obverse of the Môn one, while the Pali extract illustrates the first few lines of the reverse. As he proposed to publish all this

material, we both considered that it would be better to collaborate, rather than work apart. For all this assistance I am much indebted, for without it I should not have been able to produce the present text and translation, which, though still inevitably far from perfect, are much better than my former drafts. Where I have either adopted Professor Pe Maung Tin's readings or modified them, the fact is indicated by his initials in the notes on the text. In some cases I did not venture to adopt them because the words were not legible in the ink-impressions which I had.

93. In view of Professor Pe Maung Tin's intention to publish all the relevant material above mentioned and having regard to the condition of the obverse face of the Môn record, it does not seem necessary to say much more about its presumable contents in this place. Besides the sources mentioned in § 87 reference may be made to the brief account of Tapussa and Bhallika in the *Slapat Rājawan* (edited and translated by Father W. Schmidt in *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Band CLI (1906) pp. 63 seqq. and 77-8, and again by R. Halliday in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (1923) Vol. XIII, pt. I, pp. 40-3), and a summary mention in G. H. Hough, Translation of an inscription on the great bell of Rangoon (in *Asiatic Researches* (1828) Vol. XVI, pp. 273, 282-3). Bigandet's account (in his work mentioned in § 87, Vol. I, pp. 108—10) is somewhat more detailed.

94. The story told on the reverse differs from these narratives by bringing in the Ceylon king and the two monks who play a prominent part in it. But from the historical point of view the second half of this face is the more interesting one and may be compared with a number of passages in the above-mentioned historical work which tell of the repairs and improvements made at the Shwedagon pagoda by successive Môn sovereigns.

The inscription itself is not dated, but as the concluding lines give a detailed account of what was done in this respect by King Dhammaceti's royal mother-in-law and by Dhammaceti himself, it may reasonably be surmised that the record was made in his time. There is, however, one date, in l. 26 of Face B, connected with the celebrated Môn King Rāmarājādhirāt, who reigned in the first half of the 15th century.

Text.

A

1. [gah pa pañidhā]¹ [pḍay] [tarn jon kyāk]¹
[tray] [Dīpañkuiw tuy]¹²
2. (bapen bwoy ramen)¹ [tuy II] (II dhar
bodhisambhār)¹ [ma ā cuip] (ma lwon)
3. (pḍay smar tnam jray bodhi)¹
. (ku pradhān jnaḥ gah)¹ [krajo' dmāñ tuy II buiw pnān]
[dewaputta Mā]¹ . . (ḥ sjuin ra)
4. [ma twah] (bgah)³ [sabbañutañān ma
gñi tau na] (trawah)⁴ [ma twah] (bgah)³ [grakwom gun ma] (sak)
.
5. (tradah)¹ [kyāk] (ra II go' tradah)¹ [kyāk tuy II] (pḍay
jaren bodhipallañ)¹ [gah II] [casuin wimuttisukha]¹ [tuy II] (na
thawhāy mwoy)⁵ lu[kau dapah tñay II] (ka)⁶
6. [kyāk tray ha go' ktuiw] (nū pallañ)¹ [ma lep
pa kuiw tradah kyāk gah] (snom)¹ [ni]m ra gaḥ [tu]y [II sandeh⁷
ktuiw dah]
7. (ma randuk ku dacām tñay) (kyāk tray) . .
[tuy het ma] [pleñ kle' sandeh⁷ dewatau]¹ ta ga[h] II ka[lāñ tuin
bwoy lamh]a(y)
8. (pleñ kle')¹ [sandeh⁷ dewatau] (ta' gah tuy II nū pallañ)¹
. [II cuih dah dmāñ t]u[y II lukau
dapah] tñay [na m]a(t)

¹ P.M.T.² The dots at the beginning and end of the first sixteen lines merely indicate that something is missing without precise reference to its amount. Elsewhere on this face a dot indicates a missing *akshara* (not two, as in other parts of these inscriptions), approximately.³ Looks like *ggaḥ*.⁴ Perhaps an error for *tradah*.⁵ Based on P.M.T. but very doubtful. The last word looks like *mwoy*. Cf. XVII 8, 9.⁶ This may be for *kājo* or *kaleñ*. The vowel of the second syllable is either *e* or *o*.⁷ Cf. XIV. 3, 4. The *d* has the form of *d*.

- ⁴ P.M.T. reads *jhānasukha*.

19. [Asitañjananāguir]¹
 (mahāsamut
 (tuy II)¹
20. (nisray)² [tau ku crañ kruñ]

21. (bwoy t) (ket) [smar kyā] (ḍeh)
 (pḍay)
22. II
 (II kwon ey

23.

24. (jak tau kwi kuim)

25.
 (tuy II) (jraku)
26. (gah II)
 (tnaṁ chu Rā)³
27.
 (gah II ey) (rwoñ II) [dān piṇḍāpat]
28.
 (ḍeh ta' gah)
29.
 (ḍāk) (tuy II kusuiw)
30. II
 (mwoy) [kyāk tray]
31. (cu)
 [ku kyāk tray]

¹ P.M.T.² Very doubtful.³ If rightly read this is presumably the first syllable of *Rājāyatana*.

32. [magga' II pñor ñah] (ma ā cuip)¹
 [l] . . . [n]
33. (dewa manussa)¹ [ḍeh ta'] (gañgeñ tluñ tuy II pḍay
 kāla lakthak kyāk tray)¹ [tuy II kwon]
 (dakuip)
34. [II ma kuiw dān piṇḍapāt] [ku kyāk tray]¹
 . . . (II pñor)
 (ḍeh)
35. . . (tuy II)¹ [ḍeh ta' prāp ā jareñ kyāk tray]
 [tila ey kyāk].
36. [tray]¹ [gah kuiw puiy ḍik go']² (kuiw ahāra klā ñi)¹
 [ḍeh ta']

37. . . . (dewa manussa)¹ [gañgeñ tluñ tuy] (II pḍay kāla)¹ [kyāk tray]
 [II kwon]
 (tuy) [II lukau cnām] (ma gluiñ)¹
38. (ḍeh ta' gah) [II ku bhikku sañ]¹ [kuiw dān tau tuy II] (klā nū
 Bodhisat puiy)¹
 [go' yamu] (Pokkharawati)¹
39. [ḍeh ta ktuiw dah kwon samñeh ma dah dakuip banik mwoy ra
 II] . . (gah) (ḍeh ta' ñah bā)¹ [ma tau
 pḍay] [II pḍay] (kāla ma dah raḥ gah II)¹
40. [kwom ku kwon bani³ masun klañ] (ḍok kḥaṇ tuy klo' ā)¹
 [mhāsamut tuy II] (ā cuip)¹ (pḍay kwī
 masun)⁴ (klañ tuy cut bapeñ drap)⁴ [wañ pa tau banik tuy II
 ḍeh ta']

¹ P.M.T.² Or *wo'*.³ For *banik*.⁴ Very doubtful.

41. (gañgeñ tau)¹ [heñ II rau wwo'] (heñ)² [paṭṭhanā deh ta' ma pa tuy]¹ (gah II) (pḍay) (batwon deh ta' rwoñ II)¹ [khā gah Taphussa Bhallika] (ñah ḥa)¹
42. (ko ku de' miñ ket galān³ dewatau ma huim II)¹ [mip cuit pumah tuy II] (nū yāñ deh ta')¹ [lo' san II] (thaḥoh jamkah kuim lar II thaḥoh)¹ . .
43. [kleñ brawut]⁴ [kuim lar II] [cut lar tuy]¹ (kyāk tray)¹ [kyāk tray II] (het⁵ hitasukha)¹ [ma sdah ku puiy ḍik] (ta')¹
44. [tila ey duñ ket dān puiy ḍik ñi II rau gah deh ta' huim] (ku kyāk tray ra II)¹ (kyāk tray tun ler) [II gasap ma rau w(w)o' ktuiw dah ra II babeñ Ghaṭikāra Mahābrui]-
45. (m ma kuiw dān ku ey pḍay) [crañ kruñ Anoma gah ler II] (ey duñ praman)¹ (Sujātā)⁶ [II kyāk tray tamlā tun ler II pḍay gatā tay heñ] (ma duñ)¹
46. (ket piṇḍapāt)¹ [ñah ma kuiw dān ka' mwoy] . . .⁸ (II yarau pḍay watthu mwoy)⁹ (piṇḍapāt Tapussa Bhallika)¹ [ma kuiw dān wo'] ro II rau [gah gasap cuit kyāk]
47. [tray ktuiw dah ra II khā gah smiñ Catumahārāt] (pan tim)¹⁰ [ket] [gasap cuit]¹ (kyāk tray tuy II) [ku kyāk tray ra II kyāk tray tun ler II] (het skuiw)
48. (badah phuiw ma jnok)¹ [ku smiñ Catumahārāt pan tuy II] (uit)¹ [pabeñ pan gah] (duñ ket tuy)¹ [bdah pabeñ mwoy ra II pḍay pabeñ kyāk]

¹ P.M.T.² Possibly *gah*.³ Not clear on the ink-impression.⁴ Or *brabui*, the text reading is from P.M.T.⁵ The actual reading may be *ket* but the sense requires *het*.⁶ Very doubtful.⁷ Perhaps *ka*, as P.M.T.⁸ The doubtful word here looks like *rañ*, which may be an error for *roñ*, or *rwoñ*.⁹ P.M.T. But for *yarau* he reads *mū rau*, which seems to make better sense.¹⁰ Conjecturally restored.

49. [tray gah II ɖeh ta' ñah̃ bā ko ku de' cut ket] (thaḥoh jamkah)¹
 (II pɖay kāla)¹ [kyāk tray]
50. [gah tun ler II ɖāk] . . [ɖeh ta' ket nañ kuiw ku kyāk tray] . . .
 (ɖeh ta') (tun II khā gah)¹
 (kyāk tray)
51. [dando' batwon dhar ku ɖeh ta']
52. (gah rau)¹ [wwo' ɖeh ta' ñah̃ bā] (gah̃ kyāk tray)¹

B

1. (t)⁸ ɖe[h]⁴ ta['] ma [spa pūjau ta]w[āk
 g]a(h) [II khā gah̃ t]u(d)a[h̃] ɖeh⁴ ta' [ma het mbāy] (. . .)⁸ II
 [smi]ñ [nāk mwoy ma him]u Jayasena [m]a tau [tau p]ɖa[y
 bhūmindhara⁶ n](āgubhow)⁷
2. (ɖeh ta') [ñ]ah̃ bā ma het mbā[y t]uy II (k)e[t] phy[ih]⁸
 nā lar pɖay thā[n̄ jaku (ɖ)e(h)⁹ [ta'] (tuy ma tau pū)j(au ra) [II
 II pɖay] k[āla krau] (payā)m
3. (g)a[h̃] II [mi]k [kan](h)am¹⁰ ceti [tuy II dlam
 dhāt lo]r [kuiw kan(h)am¹⁰ II Buddhapat]i[mā ler kuiw kan](h)am¹⁰
 (tuy II nakātadhāt gah̃ cut¹¹ pɖay) [tneñ Buddhapatimā ra II
 pɖay] (dhā)-

¹ P.M.T.² There appear to have been about half-a-dozen more lines, now illegible.³ Or *k*.⁴ Looks like *ɖey* (which is impossible here).⁵ The first letter looks like *pa* or *ma*, the second like *t* or *h*.⁶ The *dh* is perhaps for *t*. See the note on the text.⁷ Conjecturally restored (cf. l. 5.)⁸ The contemporary spelling is *phyuñh*, but no *u* is visible here.⁹ Either at this point or between the *e* and the *h*, there is a blur which in the latter case may be an original flaw. If not an original flaw, there is a lacuna of the size of two or three *aksharas*.¹⁰ The contemporary spelling is variable, but in the occurrences of the word in this line there is a subscript *h* (or conceivably it might be a *d* formed like a *ɖ*). Between the first *kan(h)am* and the next word there is a small flaw.¹¹ The three preceding words are due to P.M.T.

4. (t swo)k k[y]āk [tray s]miñ mi[k¹ go]' [cut k]w[om tuy II smin]
(pa)² [sajuiñ Cūlapiṇḍapāt](ikatissathe kuiw ket ran)³ [dhāt
swok ra II Cūlapiṇḍapāt](ikatissathe)⁴
. (ma)⁵
5. [himu Si]wa[th]e⁶ [kuiw ā cuih k]e[t dh]ā[t swok smin nāk
Jayasena ma ā lar pḍay bhūmindhara nā](gabhow ra II)⁷ . . .
. . [Siwathe gah] cu[ih ā cuip smin nāk] (ra) [II smin nāk] . .
.
6. [ma sket] dh[āt] tuy II [dh]ā[t s]uim [kr]o[t] sm[iñ nāk nit lar]⁸
tuy II dhāt ha bwoy ku ey II tīla ey⁹ nāt] (ra II tīla ey ket)
[k]e[t ra] II [i]hā[h] smin nāk [ga] II]
.
7. [t] ket paṭiñā[n k]u [s]miñ nāk (pi¹⁰ leh)¹¹ [tūy¹² II na idhi gah]
dhā[t swok gah ket ket tuy II kuiw ku smin Kākawaṇṇatissa¹³
ra] II s[miñ Kākawaṇṇatissa]¹³ t[un ler II]
.
8. [gah] t[uy II l]atū kḍip Buddhapa[t]imā [gah lar t]u[y] II
[Bud]dhapa[tim]ā gah [th]ā[panā lar pḍ]ay [dl]aṇ [tuy II] (kuiw)
. [II II Tapussa Bhallika ṇ]aḥ b[ā ko
k]u [de' wo]' [tun]
9. t[au] p[ḍay] w[ih]ā¹⁴ Jeta[wan gah II uit up]aḥ [gamluñ kui]m II
pa[bwoy rameñ heñ] (I) kyā[k tray daḥut]
(tuy II) [pnor ṇ]aḥ [ma ā saraṇagamana gah p]ḍay [thān] . . .
.

¹ Looks like *mit*.

² P.M.T. (one could read *ma*, but *pa* seems to be required by the sense).

³ P.M.T. (but the last word may be *nan*).

⁴ P.M.T.

⁵ Conjecturally restored.

⁶ Possibly *Swathe*.

⁷ Cf. I. I.

⁸ P.M.T. (I had formerly read this as *witak ra* and interpreted it as "reflect").

⁹ At this point there is a small gap; I can see no letter in it. P.M.T. reads *ra*.

¹⁰ P.M.T. Actually this looks like *ḥi*, "ocean, river", but that may be due to subsequent damage.

¹¹ Doubtful. See the note on the text. I had formerly read *heñ*, which seemed possible.

¹² Or *tuy*.

¹³ P.M.T. (I had read the initial letter as *t*, which is in fact its shape in the second occurrence of the name, the first being hardly legible. In medieval Môn inscriptions the letters *k*, *t*, *th*, *y*, *l* and *h* are hard to distinguish when the stone is weathered or otherwise damaged.)

¹⁴ Or *wiā* (the more correct spelling).

10. [ma daḃut lar] rwoñ II [krau] ww[o]' khā kyāk tra[y ma tau pḃay Rājagruhi II] ḃe[h ta'] (ñah ḃa plan a)¹ [mwoy] (tñay ra) [t]un II [tuy prāp a jareñ k]yā[k tray liñwor tuy pḃay] (thān) (ka)-²
11. j[o'] d[m]ā[n³ tau] ra [II k]yāk [t]ra[y t]wa[h dhar ku ḃe[h ta' ra II Tapussa] gah go' [sotāpatiphiw⁴ ra II] (tuin lamih)⁵ [u]p[āsaka dman tau ra II Bhallika gah pa gam-i t]u[y] (pa mar)⁶ [wi]p[assanā] (tuy II go')⁷
12. [ra tuy II Bhallikathe]⁸ gah [yam]u [tīla]⁹ gah [ra II T]apus[sa tun gah] II [plan cau tluñ Asītañjananāguir tuy II pḃay ceti dhāt swok kyāk tray ma ḃe[h ta' thāpanā] [la]tū kḃip tm[o' Tambag]utta¹⁰ (ḃuk)¹¹
13. (peñ wat) [p]aṭi[pat t]uy II dī[m]ā[n] yā[m] bna[t ayuk tuy] II [c]u[tī] a n[ū] ga[h] a ktuiw dah pḃay ḃuñ swar ra II II ceti [dhāt swok] (te')¹² [ñah] (ma¹³ ti)m pa[ray] (wat)¹⁴ [l]i[n]wor [pū]jau [t]au ra II krau wwo' [tno]r [ñah] (ma tim) [paray dh]āt [swok]
14. [kyāk tray ma sgut] a tuy II pḃay [th]ān [rah] rman wwo' tun ler II sāsa[nā ha go'] tan (cu)i-[p dah uiw da ci] (II ceti)¹⁵ [dhāt swok gah] ña[h ha tim tuy] II [ñah ha] go' l[in]w[o]r [p]ūjau [h]c[n] ra [II II het] ña[h ma ha go']

¹ P.M.T.² Conjecturally restored.³ Looks like *dman*.⁴ The first *i* looks like *l*. I owe the *ph* to P.M.T.⁵ P.M.T.'s reading *tuin lamih* is by no means clear on my ink-impressions.⁶ P.M.T. (I had read *pa-a*).⁷ The last word is very doubtful, but cf. the preceding *go'*.⁸ The *Bh* resembles an *A*.⁹ Or *tīla* (P.M.T.).¹⁰ This seems to be the actual reading, though the *T* might be *K* both here and in II, 20, 23.¹¹ Conjecturally restored.¹² Very doubtful. The final letter looks like *m* and the *virāma* is uncertain.¹³ Very doubtful. It may be merely a damaged space.¹⁴ Possibly *gah*.¹⁵ Very doubtful. One would expect *dndy* (cf. I, 20, *infra*).

15. [līnwor pūjau gah] kuim nda¹ II [pḍay] thā[n c]eṭi ga[h] II ma
[pa t]aṃ [ku tn]aṃ [chu juk gruiṇ kambat han t]a ga[h] (klut
tuin tuy II dah)² [gruiṇ gah] (badan)³ uiw tuy II ṇaḥ ha tim
dnāy w]ā[y heñ ra II II nor cnām tila⁴ puiy kyā]k tra[y]
16. [ma pa parinibbā]n [gah] II bā [k]la[m̄n pi cwoh turau cnām gah
kuli lwon] ā t[u]y II [t]īla⁵ puiy [a]ra[han] b[ā ma himu
Soṇathe Uttarathe gah tluñ ptan sā]san[ā pḍay d[u]ṇ S[uwaṇṇ]a-
bhum [ra] II kh[ā s]ā[sanā ma tan] tuy II gam-[ī]
17. [truh] II gam-[ī brau II sāma]ṇī [tr]u[h] II [sāmaṇ]ī br[au] II
khā [ma nwom⁶ tuy gah II] khā [gah] smiñ Si[rī]mā[soka gah
II gaḥ] ku tī[la⁷ puiy bā] (ra II t)o⁸ [tīla⁵ ey] II dha[m]ma[rat]
II sa[ngha]rat ga[h puiy ḍik go'] li[wwo]r⁹ pūjau
18. (ra II [Buddhar]atana m[w]o[y gah puiy ḍik] mik l[īnwor pū]jau
ha go') . . (') [II] dh[āt] kyā[k] tray [tuy puiy ḍik] ma [sgo']
phyui[h cuit Bu]d[dh]ara[t puiy ḍik ma sgo' līnwor pū]jau [ey]
pura[y¹⁰ gah] II tī[la ey]
19. [ta' reñ ku puiy ḍik ṇi II rau gah] sm[in pa āyāc]anā [ku tila
puiy ra II II khā ga]h tila pui[y mahāthe bā gah II ce[tī dh[āt]
s[w]o[k] kyā[k t]ra[y] II m[in T]ap[ussa] II [Bhallika II ma
thāpan]ā lar p[ḍay latū kḍi]¹¹.
20. [p tmo' Tambagutta¹² II dasuiw gruiṇ ma grop badan lar tuy ma]
ṇaḥ ha tī[m dnāy gah II taḥaḥ] k[u]iw ku [smiñ = Si]r[imāsoka]¹³
ra II [khā gah smiñ = Siri]m[āsoka]¹³ II kuiw [ṇ]aḥ taḥ [kle' ca]a[h
jaṇaḥ] (kle') [dasuiw gruiṇ tuy] II [ce]-

¹ See XIV 1 n. (and cf. I. 21, *infra*).

² The last word is very doubtful.

³ P.M.T. But the word seems doubtful. Cf. I. 20, however.

⁴ Perhaps *tila*.

⁵ Or *tila*.

⁶ An original *y* has been corrected to *m*.

⁷ Or *tila*.

⁸ Or *ho'* (P.M.T.) But it must be meant for the introductory interjection *yo'* (cf. XII A 34, 50).

⁹ Error for *līnwor*.

¹⁰ There is a marked stroke under the *p*, but possibly it is a later disfigurement, not the symbol for *u*.

¹¹ Possibly *kḍi*.

¹² Cf. I. 12 n.

¹³ The *ñ* in *smiñ* (if there is one) is superscript over the following letter. *Siri*^o may be *Siri*^o.

21. [tī kui]m [lar II prasāt¹ ma dah]² (g)[uim]³ cet[īyaghara kuim lar]
 II k[u]iw kanai⁴ [tuy] (pa)⁵ [tau pūj]au ra [II II pa tam]⁶ nū
 gah [kuim] nda⁷ II [uit ku ñaḥ ma t]au pda[y] thān [r]aḥ
 [rma]n [wwo' gah] II [pabwoy⁸ ram]eñ he[n] (ma)⁹ tluñ [tau
 pūjau heñ ra II]
22. krau [wwo'] s[m]iñ ma [n]w[om tau ku s]addhā ma [pa t]i[la] raḥ
 [rman ta gah II c]etīyaghara w[wo' tādah] thāwara la[r cu]it
 [t]uy II [ce]tīyaghara gah c]aḍaḥ k[l]e' tuy II ma dak grop
 grop] janwo[k] (tluñ¹⁰ ceti)
23. [wwo' bwoy ram]eñ t[tuy] II ce[t]i w[wo' dah m]ahā[c]e[t]i [rwoñ
 II II II] II [tīla puiy ceti dhā]t [swok kyāk tray] m(in)
 Ta[pu]s[s]a Bha[l]lika] ma [thāpanā lar pday] la[t]ū kḍ[ui]p¹¹ tma[
 Tambagutta¹² wwo' II pday k]ā-
24. [la tīla ñ]aḥ [taka]¹³ ciñ batāñ ma hi]mu Dhamma[trailo]kyañ[th]a-
 r[ājādhi]rā[t ma pa smiñ gah II prasāt¹⁴ ma dah cetiyaghara gah
 caḍaḥ kle' tuy II (ma dak)¹⁵ . . . [j]anwot¹⁶ [r]w[on] II [khā
 ma dak] gah da[h 40] ha[t]
25. [sal]uñ [ra krau] w[o' p]da[y kāla tila ñaḥ Sutasomarājādhirāt ma
 pa smiñ gah] II [kuiw dak lhom janok¹⁷ plar]tun II] da[k l]h[om
 j]ano[k¹⁷ tuy heñ II yok] . . (c)a[lāñ II yok t]ḍ[on II] (dlaḥ)
 sl]u[y gah]

¹ For *prasāt*.² Or *dak*.³ The last letter seems to be definitely *m*; the first might be *w*. Possibly the word is a badly-spelt *kuim*. Cf. I. 24.⁴ There is little or no indication of a subscript letter here, but cf. I. 3.⁵ The supposed *pa* very much resembles II.⁶ Or *gata* (P.M.T.) But there seem to be traces of an *anusvāra*.⁷ Cf. XIV 1 n.⁸ Possibly *babwoy*.⁹ Looks like *pa*, or conceivably II (P.M.T.)¹⁰ Doubtful. The first letter may be *k*.¹¹ Possibly *kḍip*.¹² Cf. I. 12 n.¹³ Perhaps *tīla*.¹⁴ Cf. I. 21.¹⁵ P.M.T.¹⁶ For *janwok*.¹⁷ Probably the word is spelt without *w* in these two cases.

26. [lar b]w[oy p]da[y] II dlah [th]ar ga[h l]ar ma[nah II kuiw lah
bapen] (calān) [uit II krau wo'] pda[y k]āla [tīla nāh Rā]ma-
rā[j]ādhirā[t ma pa smin gah II pday] sak[karāt 798 II gah II
tīla puīy] c[eti dhāt s]w[ok]
27. [wo' cha] pnah [gaṇḍi]n [ma g]tu[iw' ā cuip latū] ga[h II lāk² ā
tu]y II [tī]lā³ [ñ]ah kwo[m] ku [gnakyāk Nārājadewī] II p[-or
sm]in Sām̄m Mlām [tu]y [II t]ah sa[mah] .(i)⁴ (p).(n)
[t]u[y] ma ku[iw] dak [p]la[n] II
28. (I) da[k plan tuy t]u[y h]e[n II k]ui[w lāk an]ka[de II khā gah]
cetī [gah] swat [s]an [g]ah [t]u[y nū tañ pajr]ah [jnok he]n ma
kui[w] da[k lho]m [plan m]way (tuy⁵ ra) [tun II] c[e]tī ma dak
lho]m [pl]an ga[h le]r [h]a ga-
29. tā[p tuy] II [tala n]ah Rāma[rāj]ādh[irāt (ā)⁶ [d]u[n] d[ewat]au
[heñ II krau wo' p]day [kā]la [tīlā' n]ah Ba[nā Bārwor ma
h]imu [Jaya]d[dīs]arāj[ādhirāt⁸ ma pa smin gah II tīlā' nāh]
kwom ku [g]nakyā[k] Rā(y) [ler II]
30. [salah watthu ma] g[lui]n [tuy ku]i[w dak lhom]⁹ II [mi āk tīlā]¹⁰
ñah [g]nakyā[t¹¹ Wihārade]w[ī]¹² II [kwom ku sm]in bui[w
Yogarāt ptit darhat heñ II uit som¹³ dik ska'] aram [pariw]ā [m]a
n[w]o[m heñ II jak l-i[t¹⁴ tuy] (ma)¹⁵ [da]-

¹ For *kuine*, probably. But the reading is not quite certain.

² Looks like *lat*.

³ Or *tīlā*.

⁴ One would expect *ti*, and the letter under the *i* looks like a *t*, but the next one has a *virāma* over it.

⁵ The *u* is very doubtful. Probably the word intended is *thap*.

⁶ Possibly *cau*.

⁷ Or *tīlā*.

⁸ Or *-ddisa-*

⁹ This looks like *kwom* but seems to be really *lhom*.

¹⁰ Or *tīlā*.

¹¹ For *gnakyā*.

¹² For *Wi-*

¹³ Looks like *yām*.

¹⁴ Or *l-wit*.

¹⁵ Probably this is what is meant, though the letter looks a little like *sa*; but it has a stroke in it.

31. [k] II [ma dak gah I]er [ha g]atāp [tuy II tila n]aḥ [Jayaddisarā]ja-
[dhir]āt¹ [gah ā duiḥ dewatau II] k[r]au [wwo]' pḍay [k]āla [t]i²la³
[ñāḥ Bañā Ken Dau ma hi]mu Dhamma[tr]ai[lo]kya[n]ātharājā-
dhirāt ma pa smiṇ] (ga)-
32. [h mi āk tala n]aḥ ma [h]i[mu g]naky[āk] Wih[ār]ade[w]i ma da[k
t]uy ma t[u]y II [klā ma t]uy ga[h tala n]aḥ Bañā Ke[n] [Dau
ma him]u [Dhammatrai]lo[kya]nā[tha gah ma] ku[iw lāk
aṅk]ad[c] II ma [yok calān II II] (ma)
33. [yok tḍoṇ] II [krau] w[wo' pḍay k]ā[la t]i[la n]aḥ [Ś]r[i]
Tribhūwa[nādityaprawaradhammatrai]lo[kyanātha³ Mah]ā[dham-
ma]rāj[ādhirājadewī II kwom k]u [k]w[o]n t[ila⁴ n]aḥ ma
[himu] Rā[m]ād[h]ipati⁵' Śripa[ramamahādhammarā]-
34. [jādhirāt ma pa smiṇ gah II w]atth[u ma g]lui[n] l[e]r [kle]' [II
uit suim k]w[om ku] dar[bat hui]w [pnā]n [heṇ] II tila⁶ ñāḥ ḥā
mi ku kwon ā duiḥ] (tām)⁷ [joṇ dhāt swok t]u[y II] ma ku[i]w
[bar jrah II jrah] ma sjo[h san ler]
35. [kuiw] (bar bapeṇ)' [II duiw ma sluṇ gah I]er k[u]i[w khāy
sat]aḥ [samah II ti bawar⁸ ma bar gah] (mā) [II tma' lwān kalo'
kalo'] (gah II bar reṇ] d[uiḥ] [tui]n tu[y] (ra) II ma[n]aḥ [deh
ma kuiw dak tuin l-u]i[t⁹ II pḍay kāla gah] (mā)
36. [II pajrah mway] (thap¹⁰ ma) dak du[n ce]tī [gah II p]ḍay [b]ān¹¹
[pajr]aḥ [latū gah] II re[n] lar tḍoṇ tma' ma l]ā[k na thar II
akr]ā [t]ḍoṇ] (kuim k)ui(w)¹² joṇ pa[jrah ceti gah II lah bapeṇ]
t[ma]' [l]aḥ II [joṇ] pajra[h gah] (mā) [II dak tui]-

¹ For *-rājadhīrat*.² Or *tila*.³ For *Tribhūwa-*.⁴ Or *tila*.⁵ Possibly *-patī*.⁶ Or *tila*.⁷ The reading, though not certain, seems very probable.⁸ Possibly *bawwar*.⁹ Or *L-it*; but the *u* seems pretty definite.¹⁰ Possibly *taw*.¹¹ This, or perhaps *bān*, seems to be the reading of the text but no such words are recorded in the dictionary. P.M.T. has suggested *pān*, which may have been the word intended.¹² This seems to be the actual reading, though owing to the condition of the stone as shown in the ink-impression either word might be either *kuim* or *kuw*.

37. n (batan¹ gnin)² t[u[y II] ma [reñ calo]' [s]ñ[i]³ c[ḍau jon] ma [tmu]y tau [na tma' II p]ḍa[y lat]ū [c]c[ḍi]yaṅgaṇ(i)⁴ ma twah g]aḥ [pan](nasā)⁵ [ma ñaḥ padaksuin⁶ gah ler II uit wūduih] (tḍon II)⁷ [laḥ bap]eñ [tma' laḥ pa-uit]
38. [II pḍay ra-uit⁸ pannasā gah tun ler II] (d)a[k ā kambāñ ma cuin dah tau ali]wā[t⁹ ma ñaḥ kan(h)am¹⁰ lar rup pkau dakah II] (p)¹¹ [pḍay ra-uit dacuit]¹² (mway thap) [ra] (tun) [gah II kuiw k]an(d)am¹⁰ [cal(w)o' jrap] (tamliw)¹³ [wūduih]
39. [pa-uit heñ II dacuih g]aḥ panna[sā dak taluih mway thap ra tun] (II) [dacuih gah mway thay¹⁴ ra tun II kuiw dak ca][o' kambāñ wū]du[ih pa-uit II pḍay kambāñ gah t]un [ler kuiw tuiw bapen] (tnam)¹⁵
40. [brau pa-uit] II [m]añah [k]am[b]a[ñ gah kuiw] (bar)¹⁶ [sa]ṭaḥ [samah ti gah pa-uit II II II II]

¹ Doubtful. The initial may be *p*. The final might be *h*, but not if the next word is *gnin*; and it is to be noted that in l. 27 this word is spelt *gañḍin*.

² Doubtful but probable.

³ Possibly *sñi*.

⁴ This appears to be the actual reading, though one would expect *c[ḍi]yaṅgaṇa*.

⁵ There appears to be a flaw between *pan* and *nasā*, which are separated by a blurred space of the breadth of one *akshara*.

⁶ Or *pa daksuin*, according to modern Môn usage.

⁷ Extremely doubtful.

⁸ Possibly *ra-it*.

⁹ Or *aliwāt*. I take this (whether a compound or two words) to represent the Sanskrit (and Palāli), "mound of earth", etc., and *vāṭa*, "enclosure, wall".

¹⁰ As to the reading, cf. l. 8 n.

¹¹ Possibly *pannasā* (as P.M.T.), the matter being complicated by the flaw referred to in connection with the last line.

¹² For *dacuih*.

¹³ The *t* is doubtful and the *liw* may be *luiw*. It is also possible that the final *w* may be an error for *ñ*.

¹⁴ Or possibly *thah*; in either case an error for *thap*.

¹⁵ Fairly certain, though the final letter is illegible.

¹⁶ Extremely doubtful.

A

Translation.

..... having made a resolution¹ at the feet of the exalted Buddha
 Dipaṅkara (2)² having been fulfilled in due order, the
 conditions of supreme enlightenment to attain³ (very ?)
 (3) beneath the Bodhi fig-tree with the intention of victory,
 remained sitting. The host of the deva Māra (undertook ?) (4)
 to wit, omniscience that is adorned with the (state ?)⁴ of an
 assemblage of virtues (without ?) (5) (the status ?) of a
 Buddha. Having attained Buddhahood, (he) enjoyed the bliss of emancipa-
 tion, (seated crosslegged ?)⁵ by the Bodhi throne⁶ for seven days
 (6)⁷ the exalted Buddha had not been able to rise (from the
 throne ?) saying that⁸ which usually confer Buddhahood
 (were ?) not yet (present ?), doubts arose⁹ (7) (for full eight¹⁰
 days ?) (the exalted Buddha ?) in order to dispel the doubts
 of the devas, floated up to the sky (8) ... (having dispelled ?) the
 doubts of the devas, (from the throne ?)¹¹ descended and remained
 for seven days (with eyes ?)¹² (9) the throne and the Bodhi
 fig-tree upon an ambulatory to the west for (seven ?) days
 (10) to the west of the ambulatory¹³ the exalted
 Buddha meditated (11) ... (for) four weeks (in ?)
 (near the Bodhi tree ?) the Ajapāla fig-tree. By
 the (Ajapāla) fig-tree (12) (was) (the)

¹ Namely to become a Buddha.

² The qualities essential to perfection must be understood here.

³ Supply something like "the status of a Buddha".

⁴ Reading *tradaḥ*; *trawah* would mean "a saying".

⁵ The reading is doubtful.

⁶ The authorities differ as to whether at this moment Buddha was still on the throne (Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 200; or had already descended from it (Bigandet, I 99). See I. 6 and also § 90, note.

⁷ Perhaps supply "seeing that".

⁸ Supply "the qualities", or the like.

⁹ In the minds of the devas. Cf. XIV 3-8.

¹⁰ This appears to be the reading. One would expect "seven".

¹¹ Here probably followed a statement of the direction and distance Buddha went, viz: north-east, ten fathoms. (Bigandet l.c.)

¹² Probably supply "not blinking". Cf. XIV 2-3.

¹³ This refers to the "house of gems", of the fourth week.

Mucalinda (tree ?) which was towards (13) (he) remained. After that . . . (14) (he) enjoyed the bliss of emancipation and remained (there) obtained the status of a Buddha (15) (the exalted Buddha was not able) to attend to his personal needs, (did not ?) food. With¹ mystic contemplation (16) (remained ?)

At the end of the (forty-nine ?) days² (desire to eat ?) (the exalted Buddha ?) . . . At that time King Indra (17) (to give to ?) the exalted Buddha . . . (the exalted Buddha ?) together with (18) King Indra. The exalted Buddha Taphussa (and) Bhallika . . (19) . . . the city of Asitañjana³ (having crossed ?)⁴ the ocean (20) (rested ?) on the bank of the river⁵ (21) towards the south (they ?) (in ?) (22) (my children ?)⁶ (24) (pulled the carts ?) (25) (having ?) (self) (26) that the (Rājāyatana ?)⁷ tree (27) (that ?) (I ?) gift of alms (28) (they ?) (29) (having ?) (water ?), merit (30) (one ?) the exalted Buddha (31) to the exalted Buddha (32) (path ?), among those (who were on the way to attain ?) (33) they, (having passed through the states of devas and men, in the time of the exalted Buddha ?) sons (of a leading merchant ?)⁸ (34) (to) give a gift of alms to the exalted Buddha (among ?) (they ?) (35) (having ?) they approached near to the exalted Buddha "My lord the exalted (36) Buddha grant that we may give (thee thy) food first !"

. they (37) having passed through (the states of devas and men ?), in the time of the exalted Buddha (having

¹ P.M.T. inserts "the bliss of".

² Or "of the day" (viz : the 49th).

³ Where the brothers dwelt.

⁴ Conjectural.

⁵ The Nerañjara, according to the Burmese version, cf. XIII A 22.

⁶ This is presumably a part of the thoughts or speech of the earth spirit, who had in one of their previous incarnations been the mother of the two brothers and who stopped their carts in order that they should minister to Buddha.

⁷ Conjectural. Cf. XIII B 1.

⁸ Conjectural.

been?) children for (many?) years (38) (they?) had been giving gifts to monks of the Order. (Before our Bodhisattva?)
 had the name (of Pokkharavati?)¹ . . (39) they came into existence as the sons of a rich man who was a leading merchant (the two of them) who remained in At (the fitting time?), (40) together with five hundred merchants,² (having gone on board ship and crossed?) the ocean, (they arrived?) (having fully loaded five hundred carts³ with goods they?) became merchants, (and) they (41) (roamed about?). Having thus made (their) prayer, in (instructed⁴ them?). At that time Taphussa (and) Bhallika, the two, (42) the elder and the younger brother, heard (the words?) which the deva spoke, and being glad at heart, (from their cart they?)⁵ very (long?) . . . dry rice cakes and cakes (43) butter rolls also (they) laid out
 . . (the exalted Buddha?) "exalted Buddha, that we may (obtain happiness?) (44) may my lord accept our gift." Thus did they speak (to the exalted Buddha?). And there arose in the mind of the exalted Buddha this thought: "The almsbowl that the Mahābrahma Ghaṭikāra (45) (gave me on?) the bank of the river Anoma (wherein I received the milk rice of Sujātā?)⁶ None of the Buddhas of old received on their hands (46) the alms of those who gave (them) gifts . . On what⁷ thing the alms that Tapussa (and) Bhallika give me?" Such was the thought (47) that arose in the mind of the exalted Buddha. At that moment the four Catumahārāja kings⁸ (being aware of?) the thought (of the exalted Buddha?) to the exalted Buddha. And the exalted Buddha, in order to confer (48) great merit on the four Catumahārāja kings, (accepted all?) the four almsbowls (and) made them into one almsbowl. In

¹ Apparently another name for the Asitañjana of l. 19.

² Literally "sons of trade".

³ According to the story there were five hundred carts, but the reading of the text is extremely doubtful.

⁴ As appears from the following line it was the earth spirit (referred to in l. 22, n.) who instructed them.

⁵ Presumably "descended", but the text is illegible here.

⁶ The last word is very doubtful. The vessels referred to were no longer available. Cf. XIII A 17—19.

⁷ This is rather a rendering of the alternative reading *mū rau*. With *jarau*, which seems to be the reading of the text, the meaning would probably be "whenever" (or "if") "on a thing". At the end of the long gap that follows one must supply "shall I receive".

⁸ The guardians of the four quarters of the world.

this almsbowl of the exalted Buddha (40) the two of them, the elder and the younger brother, put the dry rice cakes at the time the exalted Buddha (50) water . . . they brought (and) gave to the exalted Buddha (them. Then the exalted Buddha?) (51) expounded the Law to them (52) thus did the two of them (speak: "Exalted Buddha"?)

B

. (that) they might worship (them while) travelling.¹ At that time, (perceiving that?)² they were negligent, a king of the Nāgas, named Jayasena, who dwelt in the Bhūmindhara (Nāga world?)³ (2) because the two men had been negligent, took (the hair relics and) carried (them) down to their⁴ own country (and worshipped them?). At a later time (time?) (3)⁵ desiring to build a caitya (and) having had a relic chamber made and also having had an image of Buddha made, placed the frontlet on the forehead of the image of Buddha (4) the king, wishing also to place the hair relics of the exalted Buddha, made the Thera Cūḷapiṇḍapātikatissa responsible for procuring⁶ the hair relics. (The Thera) Cūḷapiṇḍapātikatissa⁷ (5) named Sivathera (and) caused (him) to go down (and) get the hair relics that the Nāga king Jayasena had gone (and) placed in the Bhūmindhara (Nāga world?)⁸ this Sivathera went down to the Nāga king. The Nāga king (6) to get the relics,⁹ the Nāga king, having

¹ The meaning is not quite certain. But the Burmese inscription explains that Tapussa and Bhallik enshrined six of the eight hairs given them by Buddha but kept the other two for private veneration. These were the ones stolen by the Nāga king. The others are referred to in I. 12.

² Conjecturally supplied.

³ The words in parenthesis are conjectural but fairly certain. The Pali *Nalāṭadhātuvansa* uses the expression (in the form *bhūmidhara*) in the sense of the Nāgas supporting or bearing up the earth. Before I saw this text I took it for a mis-spelling of *bhūmintara*, in the sense of "the interior of the earth", which would be equally appropriate.

⁴ That is, the Nāgas' country. But the reading of this passage is not quite certain.

⁵ Somewhere in the preceding passage must have come the king's name (see I. 7), and description. The Burmese inscription locates him in Ceylon.

⁶ The reading is not quite certain. Literally "cause to bring."

⁷ Here there must have been a statement that the monk mentioned in the next line was a pupil of Cūḷapiṇḍapātikatissa, and perhaps that the latter summoned him, as in the Burmese version.

⁸ Cf. I. 1.

⁹ Probably these words were preceded by some statement that the Nāga king was aware of the monk's purpose in visiting him.

swallowed the relics (and) the reliquary, (said) "The relics are not with me. (If) my lord sees (them, let) my lord take (them)".¹ Thus the Nāga king spake² (7) having obtained permission³ from the Nāga king (three times⁴ and) having by magic power taken the hair relics, gave (them) to King Kākavāṇṇatissa. And King Kākavāṇṇatissa, having (8) (and) having put (them) on the head of the image of Buddha, (and) having enshrined the image of Buddha in a relic chamber, (caused?)

The two (brothers) Tapussa (and) Bhallika, the elder and the younger brother,⁵ (9) dwelt in the Jetavana monastery (and) the exalted Buddha set all the (lay) disciples in (their due) order, among those who went for refuge⁶ in (that?) place⁷ (10) (he) set. After that, when the exalted Buddha dwelt at Rājagriha, these (two again?) went one (day? and) having approached the presence of the exalted Buddha (and) made reverence, in (that place?) (11) sat down (and) remained (seated). The exalted Buddha preached the Law to them. Tapussa attained the fruit of conversion,⁸ (he entered the number of?)⁹ the lay disciples (and) remained (in that status). But Bhallika having become a monk and developed spiritual insight, (attained?) (12) was named Bhallikathera. Tapussa, on the other hand, having returned again to the town of Asītañjana, in the caitya where they had enshrined the hair relics . . . on the top of the Tambagutta¹⁰ hill fulfilled (13) (his religious) duties, and after dwelling (there) for the term of his life passed away from there and came into existence in the heavenly city.

(As for) the caitya of the hair relics, those who were aware of the benefits¹¹ (of its observance?)¹² continually venerated (and) worshipped it.

¹ Literally "my Lord see" (or "look"), "my lord take", both verbs being in the imperative.

² Here the monk Sivathura must have been mentioned or referred to again.

³ Or "consent", "promise".

⁴ The Nalāṭadhātuvāṇsa here speaks of a thrice repeated promise or consent.

⁵ From the Burmese version it is plain that the preceding gap contained a statement that it was Buddha who was dwelling in the Jetavana monastery at this time.

⁶ In the technical Buddhist sense, *i.e.* in Buddha, the Law and the Order.

⁷ From the Burmese version it appears that the two brothers obtained first place among the first disciples.

⁸ The word contains a metaphorical reference to entering into the "stream", *i.e.* the Buddhist path of holiness.

⁹ Very doubtful.

¹⁰ See the note on the text.

¹¹ That is, primarily, "spiritual benefits".

¹² Very doubtful.

Later on, the succession of those, who were aware of the benefits¹ of the hair relics (14) of the exalted Buddha, having been broken, and because in this Môn country the religion had not been (firmly) established, people knew not (the caitya of ?) the hair relics and they could not venerate (and) worship (it). Because they could not (15) venerate (and) worship (it), on the land of the caitya such things as trees, jungle creepers, grass and rubbish had sprung up, (and had become ?)² a forest (concealing it ?)³, people were not aware of its site. From the year of the exalted Buddha's (16) achieving parinirvāṇa two hundred and thirty-six years had elapsed, (when) our lords the two arhats named Soṇathera and Uttarathera came (and) established the religion in the country of Suvaṇṇabhūm.⁴ When the religion had been established (and) when there were monks, (17) nuns, male novices, and female novices, then King Sirīmāsoka said to the two arhats, "O my lords, the gem of the Law and the gem of the Order are we able to venerate (and) worship, (18) (but) the gem of the Buddha, (though) we desire to venerate (and) worship (it), we cannot.⁵ A relic of the exalted Buddha, that we may set our minds (at rest upon), a gem of the Buddha that we can venerate, worship (and) adore, let my lords provide for us!". Thus did the king make (his) petition to our lords. Then our lords the two Mahātheras showed to King Sirīmāsoka the caitya of the hair relics of the exalted Buddha that Tapussa and Bhallika had enshrined⁶ on the top (20) of the Tambagutta⁷ hill, which the forest bushes⁸ had covered (and) concealed, and people did not know (its) site. Then King Sirīmāsoka had the forest bushes⁹ cleared away (21) and also caused the caitya and the *prāsāda* (which was also ?)¹⁰ the *cetiyaḥara* to be built up and offered¹¹ (them). From that time also all the people who dwelt in this Môn country in due course¹² kept coming and worshipping (it).

¹ That is, primarily, "spiritual benefits".

² Very doubtful.

³ Suvaṇṇabhūmi is here identified with Lower Burma. The name has also been claimed by other parts of Indo-China.

⁴ Or, possibly, "have not (got)". Here follows in the text an illegible word of one syllable which may either have added to the sense or been a mere particle.

⁵ Or "set up", the object then being the caitya.

⁶ Cf. l. 12 n.

⁷ Or, "bushes (and) forest".

⁸ The reading is doubtful, especially as regards "also". For the rest, cf. l. 24.

⁹ Or "worshipped".

¹⁰ That is, at the appropriate seasons.

(22) Later on the kings that possessed faith who were lords of the Mōn country, determining that this *cetiya* should be permanent, the *cetiya* having been severed asunder,¹ encased and enlarged (the sides of the caitya ?)² (23) successively and this caitya became a great caitya. This venerable caitya³ of the hair relics of the exalted Buddha enshrined⁴ by Tapussa (and) Bhallika on the top of the Tambagutta⁵ hill, at the time (24) when His Majesty the Lord of the White Elephant, named, Dhammatrailokyanātharājādhirāt, was king, the *prāsāda* which was the *cetiya*, having been severed asunder,⁶ was encased (and) enlarged⁷ (by him and) when encased was 40 cubits (25) high. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Sutasomarājādhirāt was king, (he) caused it to be encased (and) enlarged again, and when it had been encased (and) enlarged (he) erected . . .⁸ the spire (and) set up the umbrella (and) putting a layer of copper (26) within (and) putting a layer of gold outside (he) had the whole of the spire fully overlaid. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Rāmarājādhirāt was king, in the year 798 of the Common Era,⁹ this venerable caitya¹⁰ of the hair relics, (27) (so far as) all that had been raised from the shoulder of the bell upwards¹¹ (is concerned) having collapsed, His Majesty together with (his) queen Nārājadevī ordered Prince Sāmm Mlām to level and have (it) built up again (28). When (it) had been built up again (they) had it plastered. Then, saying that the caitya was very¹² small, from the large plinth (upwards they) had it rebuilt (and) encased once more. The rebuilding (and) encasing of the caitya had not been completed (29) when¹³ His Majesty Rāmarājādhirāt

¹ The sense is doubtful, the word *caḍah* primarily means "apart from, to be separated from". It is not clear whether the destruction (if it is that) was accidental or an intentional part of the scheme of enlarging the caitya. The phrase recurs in l. 24.

² Doubtful reading.

³ Literally "our lord this caitya".

⁴ Cf. l. 19 n.

⁵ Cf. l. 12 n.

⁶ Cf. l. 22 n.

⁷ To preserve the order of the original these verbs have been turned into the passive.

⁸ Here there is a small illegible word.

⁹ A.D. 1436-7.

¹⁰ Cf. l. 23 n.

¹¹ This seems to be the meaning, though it might conceivably be rendered "having only been raised up as far as the shoulder of the bell." In view of ll. 25-6, this interpretation does not seem to be acceptable. By "bell" is meant the bell-shaped body of the pagoda.

¹² Or "too."

¹³ The word *gatāp* means "to be in time."

departed to the city of the devas. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Bañā Bārwor, styled Jayaddisarājādhirāt was king, His Majesty together with (his) queen Rāy, (30) having given many offerings, had (it) built up (and) encased. His Majesty's mother, the Queen Vihārādevī, together with Yogarāt, the commander-in-chief of the army, exerted themselves: all the slaves, followers (and) retainers that there were (they) led forth to build (31) but the building had not been completed when¹ His Majesty Jayaddisarājādhirāt departed to the city of the devas. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Bañā Ken Dau, styled Dhammatrailokyanātharājādhirāt, was king, what His Majesty's mother named Queen Vihārādevī had built was finished. When it had been finished His Majesty Bañā Ken Dau, styled Dhammatrailokyanātha, had it plastered, erected the spire (and) (33) set up the umbrella. Thereafter, at the time when Her Majesty Śrī Tribhuwanādityaprabavaradhammatrailokyanātha Mahādhammarājādhirājādevī together with her son named Rāmādhīpati Śrī Paramamahādhammarā(34)jādhirāt² were rulers, (they made) many offerings together with all the forces of their army. Their Majesties, mother and son, having gone to dwell at the foot of the hair relics, had the hollows (of the ground) filled up, hollows that were very deep (35) (they) caused to be entirely filled up, high mounds (they) caused to be dug (and) levelled, (on) the earth which was filled in (they) piled up blocks of laterite stone and outside (it) they had it all faced. Then (36) (on) the first³ plinth supporting the caitya, on the upper⁴ of the plinth, (they) arranged stone umbrellas overlaid with gold, and between the umbrellas (they) had the foot⁵ of the plinth of the caitya paved throughout with flat stones, (and) having (on) the foot⁵ of this plinth built (37) up⁶ the bell,⁷ (they) arranged standing lanterns made of stone,⁸ (and) on the top of the *cetiyaṅgana*,⁹ what is termed a *pañnasā*¹⁰ for people to go round, (and) outside (the

¹ See I. 29 n.

² This is the celebrated king, more commonly known as Dhammaceti, who probably had this inscription set up. The queen just mentioned was his mother-in-law.

³ This appears to be the top storey of the several storeys leading up to the actual pagoda.

⁴ The reading and meaning are doubtful.

⁵ This really must be the surface from the context.

⁶ Doubtful reading.

⁷ Doubtful reading. See the note on the text.

⁸ Or, perhaps, "adorned with (precious) stones."

⁹ The area surrounding the caitya. See the note on the text.

¹⁰ Doubtful reading. The word should mean a "hermitage." Literally "leaf hut."

umbrellas ?, they) laid down flat stones throughout; (38) at the end of the *pannasā* (they) built a wall, with an earthwork, whereon (they) made lotus patterns at the end of (one ?) lower level (they) had permanent *zayats*¹ built all around. (39) On that level (they) built the *pannasā* (apart ?)² on one level, (and) on the next (lower they) had a wall built all around it. Within the wall (they) had (40) coconut palms planted throughout. Outside the wall (they) had the ground levelled throughout.

¹ "Rest houses." The word may be in the singular.

² Doubtful.

No. XVI.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE YATHEMYO MONASTERY, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

95. This inscription is engraved on one face of a stone of which about a fifth has been broken off and was not available. The dimensions of the inscribed area are as follows : height, 2 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth, 3 ft. 5 in. The letters are $\frac{3}{8}$ in. high and letter *t* is $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long. The inter-linear space is about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Except in places where it has been damaged, the writing is clear.

96. The inscription commemorates the founding by King Dhammaceti of a large monastery, the Mahārāmaṇavihāra. It is noticeable that the first date given (in l. 1) is 819 of the Common Era (=A.D. 1457-8), a year earlier than the first date referring to this king in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions. This was, apparently, the time when a beginning was made with the erection of the monastery, the dimensions of which are given in some detail, though unfortunately a good deal of this description is lost. In the year 823 most of the work had been completed and on the 10th of the waxing half of Vaiśākha in 824, after all was ready, the monks were invited to enter into occupation, to the number of 17,174 all told. The remainder of the record gives particulars of the king's bounty towards the monks, whom he provided with large quantities of necessaries, the details of which are of some interest. Some of these agree with similar gifts mentioned in various parts of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions to which reference is made in the notes on ll. 20, 21.

Text.

1.
 [pa]rinibbān gah [2001] cñām kuli lo[n] ā tuy heñ II
 pḍay sakkarāt 819 tila naḥ [smiñ dhar] (Rāmādhīpati-Śrīparama-
 mahādha).

2. (mmarājādhirāt)¹
 . . suim bed ma lhiñ tau pđay sabguiw sā[sanā kyak]² tray I ma
 pkañ rañ tau kramin brabwey³ dhar gah I ma
 . [Mahārāma]wiḥā[r]
3. (ma)
 [kar gah I ma] kuiw yok dayoñ Ma[hārāmawihār] I pa tañ nū
 [gah k]uim ra I (kā nā⁴ kuim) lar I kā [l-it lwān kuim] (lar I)
 b[woy ramen] . .
4. h na
 ha[t p]akati ma twah bgaḥ hat basa[y I ja]li[n 38] hat I janok
 34 hat I saluñ 33 hat I [tmit] (muk) pan tal[uih]
5. [32]⁵ hat
 I jaliñ 38 hat II wiḥā tawī clat Jetawa[n] 26 ga[h] l[e]r suim ku
 m canor heñ I wiḥā [mway mway gah jaliñ 32]
6. (hat)⁶ (tal)uih⁶ II
 [no⁷ wi]hā [j]nok I bwoy duih esān gah I clat cañkrañ bwoy⁸
 I [jaliñ 64 ha]t I jano[k] . . [hat I saluñ] . . [hat I ḥa talui]-
7. (h)⁹ (jra)y⁹ bodhi
 mwoy I cetī ler mwoy II clat upuh gah I jaliñ 38 hat I [janok]
 (1)9 [h]at I sa[luñ 23] ha[t I] cetī (ta') clāñ joñ cetī
8. [jno]k
 bw[o]y dui[h] smar kyā mañah kambā[n wiḥā g]ah I [k] . . .
 (1) . . . [ca mwoy 30 mañlañ] caturah [I layoh I] (8) [hat] I
 dapah taluih I ui[t]
9. (bwo)y¹⁰ ramen
 klon ā tau tuy II p[đ]ay sakka[r]āt [823 gah] uit kā ta[ḥui]ñ
 ka[mbāñ] (le)r [tuy] uit I ma pa [tañ ku]

¹ Conjecturally restored. Cf. XVII 2.² Error for *kyak*.³ Error for *brabwoy*.⁴ Possibly *ra*, or *cha*.⁵ Possibly 33.⁶ Conjecturally restored.⁷ For *no*.⁸ Error for *mwoy*.⁹ Conjecturally restored.¹⁰ Conjecturally restored.

10. n I ta
gah tuy uit heñ ra II [a]khā kā wihā ma tu[y gah] I acī areñ
ma sbala[h] wihā gah s[miñ dhar [tala ciñ]
11. (batān)¹ w[ih]ār²
[gah] I [k]uiw [ñ]aḥ taḥ samah saman tuy I ruñ jamliñ ma
gluiñ [ku] cnor [ñan]³ gah kanarñ [tuy] I swa[k acā] sañ jamnok
I
12. y I
tade' I bwoy athu[i]k atan gah salañ kana(m)m lor na batā[n]
tanāy I kwa[k] l[o]r [na] janik I da(pah)⁴ [thap I]
13. [sa]ñ
samat to' gamluiñ [tu]n ler I kuttī mway la[k masun l]ñim
dapah klañ pan cwoh paray gah I ma pa tañ [ku] da[ka]r dñi
14. (I pḍay) [sa]-
kkaṛāt 824 kitu basāk [cah] bramāk ga[h I ti]la ñaḥ smin dhar
ti[la] ciñ batān het [ma sa]d[dhā] pḍa[y] ra[t p]i
15. (p) . n . (k)
. . Mahārāmawihār tuy I sañ ma dah gāmawā[s]i arañawāsi
I ma nwom bnat galuiñ dlañ⁵ I kuttī ta gah I ku[i]w wā[ñ
p]lop [damāñ]
16. (kuttī ta)⁶ [gah] ra II lukau dacām tñe[y] (he)ñ
I na piñdapātapaccay ma nom tau ku rah ma pray ma twah
pgaḥ I khā[d]aniya bhojaniya ga[h ta]ruip tau [ku] (kāla)
17. [mway mway tñe]y heñ watthu ḥa (lñim)
. . ⁷klañ masun basā I dacām tñay heñ watthu [mway] lak
[d]apah lñim d[acā]m [c]woh pi basā I watthu ma n[wo]m bnat
ga-

¹ Conjecturally restored.

² There is no *virāma* visible.

³ Or *san*.

⁴ This looks like *damuh* or *dapuh*, but the additional strokes may be accidental.

⁵ Looks like *dlam*.

⁶ Conjecturally restored.

⁷ It is doubtful if there was a word here. If so, it must have been *ḥa* or *pi*.

18. (luiñ)¹ [wo'] ma pru preñ [piṇḍapātapaccay] I gilānapaccay [ta] gah I ra-it ma phāp dacām tñay tu[y gah] I tila ñaḥ smin [dh]ar tala [ci]ñ ba[t]añ [gah] I day[y]adhar lak[khaṇ]adā[n]awat-[thu]
19. [ma pa] tañ [tñay] [dacām ma twah pga]ḥ bray j[mū g]ah I bgū tau ku [t]ila sañ to' ga[m]luiñ tun II pḍay [sañ] m[w]ay lak dapah l[ñ]im klañ [dapah c]woh pan gah I [cā² s]añ jamnok (I) ta(ḍay)³
20. . . .⁴ [lñim dapah klañ bā cwoh] gah I [suim] suim ku krayā dlañ [k]wo[m] ku [p]ari[k]kharā dacām I saṅgā gah yā[t sn]ā bāp [l]ñim [dapah] klañ [bā cw]oh mre[k gamih] pan lñim masun [k]lañ pi [basā]
21. (I) [mrek galā bā lak pan] lñim turau klañ [b]ā cwoh [b]asā I [a]pañ⁵ bā rā bā [l]ak daci[t] lñim klañ bā cwoh pi [b]asā I [sat basiw daci]t klañ pa[n] cwoh dacām kḍoñ I [kwom pha]-
22. (lā suim bī gapuiw panāk sat)⁶ [ḥun sablu] me[k sut] I para[ñ] kā sui[m] camb[ā]y I hañ rā [sui]m paṅgā[n] cwa I [kamm]alī I [ḥu]n kneh brakuih I (mamar jraṅaṇ)⁷ k(w)uiw . [r] . . . (n) . [r] . (ta)rāy⁸ I b[u]n kṣā (I) na (tañ)⁹
23. mye[k] (c)e(n) I [kleñ ka-uy I kleñ lañau] I tlāk pamat I basay pamat I juk st[e]ñ I sakep dun I dako' sa[t I] tamah I pareh [I nuñ] (d) . . . [suim joñ] I nuñ sw(uñ) [k I pa]ye I (t)am-ot

¹ Conjectural, but cf. l. 15, *supra*.

² For *aca*.

³ The *ḍ* is shaped rather like the numeral 3.

⁴ Looks like *thane'* but the *th* might be *k*, *t*, or *l* and the *n* might be *r*.

⁵ For *apañ*.

⁶ Except the last two words which are practically certain, this is conjecturally restored from the parallel passages referred to in the notes to ll. 20, 21 of the translation.

⁷ Very doubtful reading; the first word is quite uncertain, except the initial letter, and in the second one the *g* might be *dh*.

⁸ Very uncertain. A conceivable reading is *brabā ray* the former representing the modern *baba* (= *pépē*), some sort of knife, and the latter *rañi* (= *rai*) "mustard plant, radish"; *larāy* might mean "flower bud", which does not seem appropriate.

⁹ Or *hañ*.

24. (bwoy)¹ [ma dō]k peñ san
 heñ I tila ciñ ba[t]āñ ma cīreñ kuiw dān I mañah nū [gah] I
 sañ [s]ama[t] ma nwo[m bnat] mwa[y l]ak [masun lñi]m [kl]am
 masun cwoh=pan² ta
25. [gah tun] (ler) [parikkharā] (dacām I)³ [ma pa tam k]u da[kā]r
 dnī [l]er I [mw]ay lak masun lñim pan klarñ masun cwoh
 [p]an gah I [m]rek mway lak masun l[ñim dapah] kla[rñ pi
 cwo]h sun⁴
26. ba[sā I sat lñim] pa[n klam dapah cwoh] pi kdon II II a[pā]ñ
 sañ pa-uit mwa[y] lak dapah lñim klarñ dapah cwo[h pa]n I
 a[pāñ] mr[ek] bā [l]ak da[pah] lñ[im dapah] kla[rñ]
27. pan [cwoh turau] basā [II apāñ sat bā lñim] pa[n kl]am [bā]
 cwo[h] m[wa]y kdon I [sāk w]o' heñ smiñ dha[r ti]la ciñ
 ba[tāñ] tam[o'] sabbañutañān tuy lon watthu dayyadhar] ma
 [twah]
28. [pгах bray jmū gah] (I) [bgū tau ku sañ ta'] gamluin heñ [ra II]
 (II)

Translation.

. 2001 years having elapsed (after the exalted Buddha had achieved) Parinirvāna, in 819 of the Common Era⁵ His Majesty the King of the Law (Rāmādhpati Śrīparamamahādha(2)-mmarājādhirāt)⁶ together with the Vedas,⁷ who delights in causing the religion of the exalted Buddha to shine, who wields sovereignty in accordance with the Law, who the Mahārāmaṇihāra (3) the , who caused the pillars of the Mahārāmaṇihāra to be set up. From thenceforward, (at) the

¹ Conjecturally restored.

² The *h* seems to be superscript over the *p*.

³ Practically certain.

⁴ For *masun*.

⁵ 1457-8 A.D.

⁶ The reading of the name is practically certain to the end of l. 1; the rest has been conjecturally restored. The king is Dhammaceti, and the date is a year earlier than the earliest date referring to him in the Kalyāṇi inscriptions (cf. XII B 32 and the commentary in § 81).

⁷ This may refer to the Buddhist Canon (cf. XII B 33n. and XVII 2).

time (of) and at the end ,² in due order . . . (4) . . .
 with *pakati*³ cubits, that is to say iron cubits,⁴ (in) length 38
 cubits, (in) size⁵ 34 cubits, (in) height 33 cubits, (the)⁶ (of the)
 (sides was ?) four *taluih*⁷ (5) 32⁸ cubits, (in) length
 38 cubits. The vihāras surrounding⁹ the central hall of the Jetavana
 (were) 26, together with row(s); each vihāra was 32 (cubits)
 long (6) *taluih* (?)¹⁰ From the great vihāra, towards
 the North East, an ambulatory hall, (in) length 64 cubits, (in) size¹¹ . . .
 cubits, in height . . cubits, two *taluih*¹² (7) a Bodhi tree, a
 caitya also. The uposatha¹³ hall (was) (in) length 38 cubits, (in) size¹⁴ 19
 cubits, (in) height 23 cubits. The caitya(s), (from ?) the spire (to ?) the foot
 of the caitya(s) (8) great towards the South,
 outside the wall of the vihāra, a (tank ?)¹⁵ 30 *mañlam*¹⁶ square, (in)
 depth 8 cubits, seven *taluih*,¹⁷ all . . . (9) (in) succession
 having gone on working,¹⁸ in 823¹⁹ of the Common Era all the work on the
 moat and wall was quite finished. Beginning with (10) the
 were all finished. When the work²⁰ on the vihāra was finished,
 arrangements for the ceremonial opening of the vihāra (were made by ?)²¹
 the King of the Law, the Lord of the (White)²¹ Elephant, (11)

¹ Reading and meaning doubtful.

² The meaning of *lwan* has not been determined. Perhaps it is an error for *lwon*.

³ I. e. "standard"; literally, "original, natural".

⁴ This is probably the Môn equivalent, in sense, to the expression *sām dān*, another name for the standard cubit (19½ inches) and points to a Burmese origin of the latter term, the first half of which closely resembles the Burmese word for "iron".

⁵ Presumably this means "width, breadth".

⁶ The meaning of *tmī* has not been determined. Possibly it may be from *lit*, "to come out" and refer to something jutting out.

⁷ The reading *muk*, "face, side", is nearly certain; *taluih* seems to be a unit of measurement. Cf. II, 6, 8, *infra*. It is difficult to connect it with Sanskrit and Pali *tala*, "span, palm of hand, sole of foot".

⁸ The second number is not quite certain. It may be 3.

⁹ Or "dependent on".

¹⁰ See note ⁷ *supra*.

¹¹ See note ⁵ *supra*.

¹² See note ⁷ *supra*.

¹³ A Buddhist religious service.

¹⁴ See note ⁵ *supra*.

¹⁵ Assuming *laca*, with a flaw between *l* and *c*.

¹⁶ One *mañlam* = 7 cubits.

¹⁷ See note ⁷ *supra*.

¹⁸ Or perhaps "the works having been carried on in due order".

¹⁹ 1461-2 A.D.

²⁰ The word *kā* at this period was used also for *kāla*, "time" but I think it may here refer to *kāra*.

²¹ Conjecturally restored.

..... the vihāra; having caused it to be cleared and levelled evenly (and) made long sheds in many rows near to it¹ for the leading teachers of the Order, (12)² in the customary manner draped³ (them) with embroidered canopies,⁴ (and) hung (them) with curtains, sevenfold, (13) (for) the minor clergy also, fifteen thousand seven hundred and forty cells, and more, beginning with mats, pillows, (14) (in) 824 of the Common Era, the tenth of the waxing (half) of the month of Vaiśākha, His Majesty the King of the Law, the Lord of the White Elephant, because (he was) faithful to the Three Gems (15) having (completed) the Mahārāma vihāra, caused the clergy who dwelt in villages and in the forest, in accordance with the number of the rooms (and) cells (available), to be inducted into (their) dwellings (16) (the cells?). During eight days with food requisites that were of excellent flavour, that is to say, hard foods (and) soft foods, (he) fed (them) at (the proper) times⁵ (17) every day offerings (amounting to) two (thousand)⁶ ... hundred⁷ and five viss,⁸ (in) eight days offerings (amounting to) seventeen thousand eighty-three viss,⁸ offerings to (18) this (amount?)⁹ were prepared, food requisites (and) medical requisites. At the end of this entertaining for eight days, His Majesty the King of the Law, Lord of the White Elephant, (made) donations of auspicious offerings (19) beginning with the eight days, (he) poured down, as it were, a heavy rain upon the lords of the clergy. Among the seventeen thousand seven hundred and seventy-four clergy, (for) the leading teachers (among) the clergy,¹⁰ (20)¹⁰ a thousand seven hundred and twenty, together with all the furnishings of the rooms and the eight

¹ Or, if *san* is to be read for *ñan*, "made the long sheds in very many rows for", etc.

² The meaning of *tade* is undetermined.

³ Literally, "dressed".

⁴ The meaning is not quite certain; for *batān*, cf. VIII A 15, 18; *tanāy* is probably the *tinlāy* of VIII A 18 and the modern *tañāi*, *tnāi* (pronounced *tanai*), "tracery, ornamentation, floral design, carving".

⁵ Possibly "at those times" (reading *gah* after *kāla*).

⁶ Practically certain restoration.

⁷ Either a hundred or two or three hundred.

⁸ It is difficult to reconcile these two figures.

⁹ Fairly certain restoration.

¹⁰ The reading and meaning are doubtful: *taḍay* may be "middle", and perhaps "intermediate", but the word at the beginning of l. 20 is unidentified. Perhaps it indicates some degree of rank amongst these 1720 higher clergy.

ourtenances, a thousand seven hundred and twenty robes and cloth
its,¹ four thousand five hundred and three viss of black pepper, (21)
enty-four thousand six hundred and twenty viss of Indian pepper; total
the two items, twenty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty-three
s; nine hundred and forty-eight barrels of *basin* areca-nuts,² boxes for
eca-nuts,³ (22) together with bottles of lime, areca-nut slicers, knives for
tel leaf, napkins,⁴⁵ with slings⁶ and bowls,⁷ woollen
oth,⁸ knives and styles (for writing) books,⁹¹⁰
3) eye medicine,¹¹ medicinal oil, sesamum oil, lanterns, fire steels,¹²
retched cords,¹³ bamboo longs, areca-nut cases,¹⁴ brooms, baskets, . . .
. ¹⁵ waterpots with stands,¹⁶ drinking pots,¹⁷ portable stoves, . . .
. ¹⁸ (24) (for ?) very complete.¹⁹ The Lord of the
hite Elephant arranged to give gifts, besides these, (to) the minor

¹ Or "clothes (and) mats". Cf. XII F 46, H 38, M 27 and N (conclusion, after l. 28). It is to be noted however that the Pali version of the first two passages speaks only of "cloths for *ticivara* robes", or mats at all. See XII H 39, trans. n.

² Cf. XII N (conclusion after l. 28). The word *sat* also means fruit in general but the meaning is determined by the 948 barrels here, added to the 1473 in l. 26, making the total of 2421 barrels of areca-nuts in l. 27.

³ The rendering is doubtful, as it depends entirely on the Pali version of XII H 38. See XII H 39 trans. n. and the passages there cited.

⁴ Or "monks' cloths". Cf. XII H 39, J 24, N 9 and its conclusion after l. 28.

⁵ The sense of *parañ ka* is not clear: *parañ* may mean "a present" and *ka* may be "a vessel with a spout". But there is a word *palāṇ*, "bottle" of which *parañ* might conceivably be a variant form. In that case the sense might be "water vessels with spouts," simply.

⁶ Or "straps" for carrying the vessels. The meaning of *hañ rā* is unknown.

⁷ Literally "plates (or dishes, or other crockery) for broth (or curry)".

⁸ Or "blankets" or "woollen garments"; Pali *kambaliya* has the latter sense, Sanskrit and Pali *kambala* all three meanings. The form *kambar* in XII E 17 comes from one of the last two and is represented by the modern *kmaw* (= *kamò*), which means "mat, carpet, blanket, woollen garment".

⁹ Or "knives, styles, books".

¹⁰ The remainder of this line is for the most part doubtful: *kwuiw*, "spade or shovel", and *bun kṣā*, which may mean a knife for splitting bamboo (modern *khyā* = *chā*), seem reasonably probable; *na* may mean "basket".

¹¹ The reading of *myek cen* is a little doubtful, but it probably represents the similar Burmese words with the meaning given.

¹² Presumably flint and steel are meant, though the actual word is "iron".

¹³ Perhaps for hanging clothes on.

¹⁴ Vessels made from a joint of bamboo, like quivers.

¹⁵ A word qualifying "waterpots" is illegible.

¹⁶ Literally, "feet".

¹⁷ The word or words after "drinking pots" are illegible.

¹⁸ The meaning of *lam-ot* is undetermined.

¹⁹ Or "sufficient".

clergy, who numbered fifteen thousand (four?)¹ hundred and fifty-four, (25) as well, (namely) the eight appurtenances, beginning with fifteen thousand four hundred and fifty-four mats and pillows, fifteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-five viss of red pepper, (26) (and) one thousand four hundred and seventy-three barrels of areca-nuts. The total of all the clergy was seventeen thousand one hundred and seventy-four. The total of red pepper was twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and (27) forty-six viss;² the total of areca-nuts was two thousand four hundred and twenty-one barrels. Thus did the King of the Law, the Lord of the White Elephant, having . . .³ omniscience, (give) offerings of meritorious gifts, as it were (28) a heavy rain, (which) he poured down upon all the lords of the clergy.

¹ The word *jan* "four" seems to have been wrongly omitted before *klain* "hundred". This appears to follow from the number of mats and pillows in l. 25 taken in connection with the number (1720) of the leading clergy in l. 19 and the full totals (17,174) in ll. 19 and 26, which leaves 15,454 for the minor clergy.

² It is impossible to reconcile this number with the numbers given in ll. 21 and 25.

³ The meaning of *tamo* is undetermined. It can hardly be *tmo* "rock, stone".

No. XVII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE KYĀK PAN PAGODA, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

97. This inscription is engraved on one face of a stone which appears to have been broken into three pieces. The two upper fragments adjoin pretty closely and form a continuous text, though at the junction it is often blurred, apart from the fact that the whole document is much weathered and to a great extent illegible. The lower fragment is detached and it has not been possible to fit it with certainty on to the upper parts. The height of the inscribed area, therefore, cannot be stated exactly, but it appears to have been a little over 3 ft.; the breadth is 3 ft. 3 in. The letters are $\frac{3}{8}$ in. high, and letter *t* from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long. The interlinear space varies from $\frac{5}{8}$ in. near the top of the inscription to 1 in. near the bottom.

98. This record commemorates the setting up by King Dhammaceti in the last quarter of the year 837 (the first quarter of A.D. 1476) of four great statues of Buddha and his three immediate predecessors on a common base, whence this monument derives its name which means "the Four Buddhas". Unfortunately the inscription is in such a bad state of preservation that only a relatively small part of the text could be deciphered and translated. Some portions run parallel with passages in XII M, and a comparison of the two records has thrown light here and there on what would otherwise have been treated as practically illegible or at any rate so dubious that nothing could safely be said about it.

Text.

1. II namo Buddh[āya] II n[or c]nām tuy [tila puin kyāk] tray
 Sā[kyamuni ma pa parinirbbā]n gah 2019 [cnām kuli lon a tuy
 heh] I pday sak[karāt 837 gah I tila] ñah [smin dhar
 Rāmāhipati Śrīpa]-

2. [rama]ma[h]ādha[m]ma[rājā]dhirāt I ma [cuin dah tau tila ciñ batāñ I ma pkañ rañ tau piṭakat pi suim bed I ma lhiñ tau pḍay ma pa puin sāsanā] kyā[k tray ma pkañ rañ tau kramin prab]woy dhar [gah I khā gah gasa]-
3. p cuit [ma] rau wo' [ktuiw dah ra I pḍay] (kāla) [puiy wo' gah I kyāk tray Kakkusan] (ma nwom bnat saluñ pan) [cwoh hat pakati ler mwoy I kyāk tray Konaguim ma nwom bnat saluñ] pi [cwo]-
4. [h hat pakati ler mwoy I kyāk tray Kassapa] (ma nwom bnat saluñ ḃā cwoh hat pakati ler mwoy I) [kyāk tray Gotama ma nwom] (bnat saluñ cwoh dacām) [hat pakati ler] mwoy I
5. tila puiy kyāk tray pan wo' dah [tuy ra] (I uit tila puiy) [kyāk tray pan wo'] (tuy) [ma nwom bnat saluñ tuy] (ma gaḥ II pan) [cwoh hat] (I pi cwoh hat I) [ḃā cwoh hat]
6. [I cah dacām hat I ma gaḥ wo' gah I bnat]¹ [tuy ma ṇaḥ] [bnat] . . . [tila puiy] (te' gah)
 (dah uiw da ci) [bnat yām wo']-
7. ' ra [ṇaḥ ma] sḃat gah I [ḃat ha go' bnat tuy]
 (kuiw dah) . (kui) . (dah)
 [uiw da ci I patimārup pan wo'] (tu)-
8. y I [ma] ey ska[nañ] w[o' gah I . . . ' gah ey (tila puiy) [kyāk tray] [wo'] ra I [bnat janok] (thawhāy)² . . [yām bnat] (da)-
9. [cā]m cwoh [hat saluñ ma] (dah) [dmāñ] (thawhāy² tuy) . . (dah) [pi cwoh pi hat ku mwoy] (pat³ pakati) [gah heñ I] ey s[kanañ ṇi I patimā](ghara ku) [patimārup pan]
10. ma sdmāñ I ma nwām bnat [mway mway tlañ klañ klañ hat] (pakati) (ma nwām bnat saluñ)
 . . . [ey skanañ ṇi II II rau gah kṣap] (tuy heñ) [II pḍay sakkarāj II 837 II kitu]

¹ Except where otherwise stated, a dot in this transcript represents one missing *akshara*.

² This appears to be the reading. Whether the word is to be regarded as connected with the *oldern thawdai* (*thawai*), "lap", seems doubtful. But cf. XV 'A 5.

³ Very doubtful reading. Presumably the word represents a subdivision of the cubit.

11. māk mway [crawek tñay brab(b)ati] (lak krakat heñ II) . . . (lwon tuy II) [II kitu cay cah bā bramok tñay] (buddhawā II lak bruih I ma yok toñ) [pati]-
12. [m]āghara (nda)¹ [II II] (gata . . kuim II) (bwoy ramen) [heñ ra II II akhā] (ma cuip arā ma sdabut)² . .
13. (t)³ gah [II pḍay dwor] (ler) II (dlañ) . . (ti) . . (lāk lar aṅkade bwoy) [kwo]-
14. [m ku] (garhah) [truh brau] (het mik kuiw go' dmāñ gah tuy) (wūduih) [pa-uit] (I bwāy mañah gah grop) . . .⁴ (pa-uit I bwoy) [pḍay sala kambu pa-uit I rau gah preñ] (tuy heñ) (dlañ)
15. dh[āt dwor gah] (gah) (ma cicwon kuim lar) (gah kuim lar) (kuim lar)
16. [ñ] bu[ddharup pan duih] (ler rau gah kuim gañi galau) (dlañ gah) (lar ra) [ma cicwon] (gah)
17. . (wūduih dlañ gah tun ḍāk nūñ garay) [mwoy thap pñān kamak mway thap I pñān dalāñ mwoy thap] (gah) [gañi galau lar] (ra II pa-uit)
18. . [II kwom ku amāt dakuip pñān] (arañ pariwā gamluiñ) [ma sadmāñ II swak ma pa sabhañ]⁵ (mwoy) [tuy]
19. (dlañ dhāt)
20. [ti II kwom ku]

¹ Spelt *nḍa* (Cf. XIV 1).

² Probably for *sdabut*.

³ This is probably the last letter of *dhāt*. Cf. XII M 9.

⁴ With this passage, cf. XII M 10, 11 which have helped in the conjectural restorations.

⁵ Cf. XII M 15-17 with the preceding passage.

⁶ The dots after the words in ll. 20-26 are intended merely to fill up the line, not to indicate the amount that is missing.

21. (brau) [tila ñah]
22. . . (gamluiñ)
23. (ñ sabhañ tuy)
24. . (ā bway dhāt ra)
25. (y tau)
26. [truh ma go' etadagga] (cah mway II rup upah brau ma go')
[etadagga]¹
27. (dabut lar)²
28.
29. (rup mba) [kyāk tray] . . . (rup
klañ cah dacām te' wo')
30. [rup Mahābisnu II rup]
(II) [rup] (dewatau)
31. (tuy II) . [i] . [i]
32. (tuy II) (gah heñ II tuiñ rup)
.
33. . . . (kuim) [lar II rup dapuin the brau ma tluñ pḍay]
.
34. watthu [kuim lar II kuiw
kanam calo' lar pa-uit heñ II pḍay pajrah kyāk pan duih tun]
(ler II pḍay)

¹ Compare XII M 35. Here the legible part of the upper fragment of the inscription ends.

² Probably for *dabut lar*, which may be the actual reading (cf. I. 12). Here the legible part of the lower fragment begins. The dots following the words indicate their position with reference to the right margin, but those which precede the words merely fill up the line. This also applies to lines 28-33 in similar circumstances. What interval there is between the two fragments is not clear. On the analogy of XII M 34-36 it is even possible that they overlap to the extent of making I, 29 the continuation of I, 26.

35. [tluñ II rup buiw Mā kya] II pday [pajrah] (II) [latū
gah II tuiñ rup dewatau truh brau gamluiñ ma tau tau pday
cah lñim cakkawā II ma tluñ] (pa pujau)
.
36. [masun cwoh II rup gam-ī truh II gam-ī brau] (II rup dewatau)
[II rup pruit II rup buil pnān Mā II rup dewatau truh brau]
(ma tluñ pa pujau) [kyāk tray]
.
37. [kṣū teh]¹ [ra] I ui[t kuiw
dayoñ] [lar cut thar sran]
.

Translation.

Honour to Buddha! 2019 years having elapsed from the year when the Lord of Merit, the exalted Buddha Sākyamuni, achieved Parinirvāṇa, in the year 837 of the Common Era His Majesty the King of the Law Rāmādhipati Śrī Pa(2)ramamahādhammarājādhirāt, who is the Lord of the White Elephant, who supports the three Pīṭakas together with the Vedas, who delights in rendering meritorious service to the religion of the exalted Buddha, who wields sway in accordance with the Law, at that time a thought (3) of this sort arose (in his) mind: "In this (time?) of ours, a (statue of) the exalted Buddha Kakusandha measuring forty standard cubits in height, one of the exalted Buddha Koṇāgamana measuring thirty (4) standard cubits in height, one of the exalted Buddha Kassapa measuring twenty standard cubits in height, and one of the exalted Buddha Gotama measuring eighteen cubits in height (5) these four (statues of) our lords the exalted Buddhas being made, (all?) these (statues of) our lords the exalted Buddhas, measuring in height forty cubits, thirty cubits, twenty cubits (and) (6) eighteen cubits, as aforesaid, the measurement which they the measurement these Buddhas (because?) to measure the measurement (7) at this time (?), not having been able to measure the measurement (caused to be?) these four statues (8) that I shall make . . . I our lords the exalted Buddhas this the measurement (of the

¹ Cf. XII M 9. It would be possible to read *keh*.

size of the seat ?)¹ measurement . . . (9) eighty cubits, in height to be (a seat ?)¹ . . . thirty-three standard cubits and one *pat* (?)², I will make, a statue (hall and ?) (where) the four statues (10) are to be, measuring on each side one hundred standard cubits measuring in height I shall make !”

Having thus reflected, in the year 837 of the Common Era, (11) the first (day) of the waning of the month of Māgha, the day (being) Thursday,³ (Cancer being *lagna* ?), (was finished ?) (on) the twelfth (day) of the waxing of the month of Caitra, the day (being) (Wednesday, Taurus being *lagna* ?), (they) set up the posts of the statue (12) hall) (?). (In front of ?) (also ?) (successively ?)⁴ When the time came to set up⁵ (13) . . in the middle (chamber ?) smeared plaster on . . . together (14) with the laity, men and women, for them to be, (he) said, (all around ?). Outside (they) covered throughout; inside (they) hung white (cloth) throughout. Having thus prepared it, the central (15) relic (chamber ?) which (they) also decorated also also (16) the four Buddha statues (they) thus adorned also (the chamber ?) adorned (17) . around the chamber too (with) watering pots, one row, hanging lamps, one row, altar candles, one row, (they) adorned. Throughout (18) . together with the ministers (and) chiefs of the army (and all the retinue ?), to be, in order to hold a festival (one) (having ?) . . . (19) (relic chamber ?) . . . (20) . together with (21) (daughter of ?) His Majesty (22) . (all ?) (23) (having held the festival ?) (24) . (went to the relic ?) (25) (26) (eleven statues of)⁶ male (devotees)⁶ who had attained pre-eminence, (ten)⁸ statues of female devotees who had attained pre-eminence (27) (set up ?)⁷ (28) (29) (a statue of the

¹ See the note on the text.

² See the note on the text. It is not clear which of the dimensions in this line applies to the height but the second one seems the more likely.

³ This date appears to correspond with Thursday, 11th January 1476 and the next one with Wednesday, 6th March 1476.

⁴ Or “in a row”, or “in due order”.

⁵ See the note on the text.

⁶ Conjecturally restored, following XII M 35.

⁷ See the note on the text.

father of ?) the exalted Buddha . . (these hundred and eighteen statues ?)
 . . . (30) a statue of Mahābisnu, a statue statues
 of devas ?) (31) (having ?) (32)
 having ?) (in accordance with the shapes ?)¹ (33)
 also ?), statues of senior nuns who came (34) offerings
 (?) also, caused to be made and set all around. On the plinth of the
 four-sided Buddha (statues) also, on (35) came, statues
 of the vanquished army of Māra, on the plinth above, in accord-
 ance with the many shapes of male and female devas that dwell in
 ten thousand universes, who came (to do reverence ?) (36)
 fifty ; statues of monks (and) nuns, (statues of devas ?), statues of pretas,
 statues of Māra's army, statues of male and female devas (who came to do
 reverence to ?) the exalted Buddha (37) engraved and
 carved all the pillars applied gold and silver²

¹ Doubtful reading and meaning. But cf. I, 35.

² Cf. XII M 9.

No. XVIII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF GAUNGZEGYUN PAGODA, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

99. This inscription is on two faces and a detached fragment of stone. The parts occupied by the lettering here transcribed are on Face A, 1 ft. 10 in. in height, 1 ft. 4½ in. in breadth, on Face B, 1 ft. 9 in. in height, 1 ft. 4½ in. in breadth, and on the fragment C 2½ in. in height by 9 in. in breadth. The letters and interlinear spaces are nearly of the same dimensions as in No. XIII. The inscription contains imprecations on persons who are not true to the faith, and blessings on those that are. It seems to be only the remnant of a more extensive record, and owing to the bad state of preservation of some parts of it, it has not been possible to make a complete translation of the portion that is available.

Text.

A

1. [kuiw] dah mran sapā
kuiw barah̄ bara[h̄]
2. [nar]ak jamnok dacām kuiw cīn
(tau lā)
3. [tun] II kuiw ktuiw dah pruit mwai
jaku mwai wā sr[ot]
4. [nd] . [ñ] II yām p[u]ñ mwai ma II ḍāk
mwai tanḍat¹ lamlān lā
5. [go'] lop ka' II blaḥ nū gah tun II ktuiw dah mnih II . .
6. . . [nū g]aw 500 leh II kamlau nū gaw 500 leh II damlu nū
ga[w 500]

¹ Error for *tanḍah*, or *thanḍah* if the word means "drop".

7. [leh] II [t]amnim nū gaw 500 [l]eh II ktuiw dah sat sat
[tamniñ]¹
8. [nū gaw] 500 le[h] kuiw ɖe[h] ktuiw dah II mnih ma ha cmat
sa-
9. [cā gamluiñ puiai ma huim] w[o]' ku[i]w dah [pūgui]w wa[h]²
heñ ra II II
10. mwai la[kā t]ui[n l]ahuim pui[y] ma gaḥ wo' [p]abwai³ dhaw yaw
pūguiw mwai pna
11. bak cmat II pḍai lok wo' II ma sak [k]u antarāai kuiw dah II
ma
12. sak ku tad[ok] kuiw dah II mnih dewatau le(w kuiw) [s]d[ui]k II
13. yat [sapat] pḍai lok bwai ma gluiñ heñ kui[w go]' duñ ca II
14. [ayuk] lew kuiw dlin II khyuit [ā] nū wo' tun II pḍai duñ swa-
15. w [kui]w go' a dah II kuiw go' ca tau yat sapat dip II
16. [jmā]p bhawa ma ktuiw dah ma sa[k] ku tadok kuiw dah I
tuiñ-rādhān[ā]
17. [parit t]amlā ma rādanā kui[w ɖok] peñ [k]uiw pū[gui]w ga[h]
(. .)
18. (heñ) [ra] II

B

1. (bra)mā[k t]ñai [palu]i[t]
2. [kui] (II) [p] . (n) . . i(t bwai m)n
(gata kā)
3. (II) [mwai lakā] sc[u]t[i] [mha] II
(ga) [kuiw] (la)

¹ Or *tamñi*, for *tamnim*. But probably the final letter, though it looks like *ñ*, is meant for *ñh*.

² Probably for *gaḥ*.

³ Or *babwai*.

4. [āgā] II [pawa ma ha]

5. ; [II ma] sda[h] (ler sat)
 II
6. [mw]ai la[kā]
 (II) (skandam̐) . . .
7. [II] (mañah nū) [pawa ñah
 tamlā tamlā] (ta) . .
8. (pa het) (wo') . . . [uiw] II [jnok k]uiw
 da[rhat] II
9. (tla a) II (tla) aniñ
 sguin̐ jak (la) . .
10. (go') [pa tuai] II ga[h] lew palan
 [k]ui[w dra]-
11. (p ñah) II (II) ñaṇ lahu[iṁ¹
 w]o' mwai lakā rā(p)
12. II [kuiw]
 (wo)' II [sacā]
13. (wo)' [he]ñ (k)uiw [d](ah) [pna]

14. . . . [ku]iw (tit) II [d̥ok dluñ] (II)
 II (grah kuiw)
15. [br]
 II
- 16, 17. (Illegible).

¹ For the final letter, cf. the note on A 7.

C

1. . . . (ta)ndañ tha(mbat) ñaḥ Jamm(u)di[t] kuiw ar
2. [iw] . . [ñ] II sam(-a)r p(ḍ)ai mhai akaḥ (tau)

Translation.

A

. may (he) have smallpox (resulting in) blindness, may (he be dispersed ?) (2) (in) the eight great hells may (he) be cooked (3) again ; may (he) become a *preta* for one existence, sucking (4) if one grain of boiled rice, one drop of water, dew . . . (5) (may it not ?) be able to enter (his) throat. And thereafter again (may he) become a human being, . . . (6) . . from birth 500 times, dumb from birth 500 times, blind from birth 500 (7) times, leprous from birth 500 times, (may he) become leprous creatures (8) from birth 500 times, may he become ! A man who is not true to the faith, (9) may all this that we have said befall that person !

(10) On the other hand, in accordance with this saying that we utter, if a person follows truly according to the law, (11) in this world may (he) be free from calamity, (12) may (he) be free from suffering, may (he) be pleasing to men and devas also, (13) may (he) be able to enjoy much happiness in the world¹, (14) may (his) life also (be) long, (and when he) dies (and) goes hence, (15) may (he) be able to go into existence in the heavenly land (and) may (he) be able to enjoy celestial bliss ; (16) may every form of being (into) which (he) comes be free from suffering ; in accordance with the *paritta* (17) prayers that (the men of) old prayed² may (it) be fulfilled for that person !

¹ Or "enjoy happiness in many worlds." But in view of what follows this seems a less probable interpretation.

² Or "the ancient *paritta* prayers that (men) pray."

B

sunrise (and sun)set¹ (2) in the future (?)
 (3) once again will die (4) deeds that are
 not (5) who shall be (creatures ?) (6)
 once again shall make . . (7) (besides ?) the deeds of
 the men of olden times . . . (8) (because ?) (this) . . . great in
 strength (9) violent (persons ?) shall seize (and drag
 away ?) . . . (10) having been able to do also restore
 (his ?) (11) property in accordance with this saying, once again
 . . . (12) (this) (this) (13) (faith ?)
 (14) may . . . (go out ?), travel by boat (may the
 planets ?) (15-17)

C

. may (the offerings of ?) the people of Jambudvīpa (2) . .
 in the heavens

Postscript.

100. In concluding this series of inscriptions, I desire to express my obligations for help given me by the authorities who commissioned me to undertake the work, by their officials, and by a number of friends already mentioned in § 21, to whom must now be added Dr. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, my two former pupils, Professors G. H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, and my colleague, Dr. J. A. Stewart. But especially I would stress again the great debt I owe to the ever-willing assistance of Dr. Robert Halliday, whose death is a great loss to Burma, to Môn scholarship, and to all who knew him.

¹ Or "east (and) west."

